The emigrant's guide; in ten letters, addressed to the tax-payers of England; containing information of every kind, necessary to persons who are about to emigrate; including several authentic and most intersting letters from English emigrants now in America, to their relations in England; and an account of the prices of house and land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett.

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A NEW EDITION.

BY WILLIAM COBBET.

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THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, &c.

LETTER I. On the Question, Whether it be advisable for Persons in England now to emigrate.

Tax-payers, Barn-Elm Farm, July 1, 1829.

- 1. I have never *persuaded*, or endeavoured to persuade, any one to quit England with the view of exchanging, it for another country; and I have always had great reluctance to do any thing having that tendency. There is, in the transfer of our duty from our native to a foreign land, something violently hostile to all our notions of fidelity; a man is so identified with his country, that he cannot, do what he will, wholly alienate himself from it; it can know no triumph, nor any disgrace, which does not, in part, belong to him: parents, brethren, relations, friends, neighbours, make, all taken together, a good half of one's self: to cast away all our long-experienced feelings and long-cherished hopes; to quit, at once, and for ever, all the associations of ideas, 6 arising from objects familiar to us from our infancy, is very much like quitting the world.
- 2. For these reasons, and for many others that might be stated, I have always, hitherto, advised *Englishmen* not to emigrate even to the United States of America; but to remain at home, *in the hope that some change* for the better would come in the course of *a few years*. When we consider the usual duration of man's life, *ten years* are not *a few*; and it is now eleven years since I, in my Year's Residence, deliberately gave that advice. Not only has there, since 1818, when the Year's Residence in America was written, been no change for the better, but things have gradually become worse and worse. In short, things have now taken that turn, and they present such a prospect for the future, that I not only think it advisable for many good people to emigrate, but I think it my duty to give them

all the information I can to serve them as a guide in that very important enterprise; and, to do this, I am, by mere accident, better qualified, perhaps, than any man in the world. For I actually saw the colony of New Brunswick begun to be settled; I almost saw the axe laid to the stem of the first tree that was felled; I saw wild woods and river banks turned into settlements; I had to assist in cutting down trees, and in peeling off the bark, to make sheds to live under before we had any covering other than the sky; so that I know the very rudiments of settling in *new countries*. Then I was, at the two spells, ten years and a half in the United States; I kept a book-shop, and carried on printing to a great extent, in Philadelphia, and, afterwards, in New York; I lived as a renting farmer in Long Island, and, at the same time, kept a seed-shop in New York; I have done a good deal in exporting to and importing from the United States; I have connexion with many persons living in that country, and keep up a constant 7 correspondence with them. So that (having the capacity to write in a way to make myself clearly understood) I am, perhaps, better qualified than almost any man living to give advice upon this subject.

3. The state of this country is now such, that no man, except by mere accident, can avoid ruin, unless he can get at a share of the taxes. As to the labouring classes, hunger, and rags, and filth, are now become their uniform and inevitable lot. No toil, no frugality, can save them from these; their toil is greater, and their food less, than those of the slaves in any part of the world that I have ever seen or ever heard of. Let the man who has some little money left; let any tradesman, farmer, or even gentleman; let him take a calm and impartial look at the state of things, and let him say whether he see any, even the smallest, chance of escaping ruin, if he remain here; for what does that calm and impartial view present? Why, these things,

That the taxes amount, annually (exclusive of poor-rates, and county and parish-rates), to twice as much as the rent of all the land, and all the houses, and all the other real property in the kingdom.

That the parish and county-rates amount to a third part as much as the rent aforesaid.

That the taxes reach every thing; and that no man can exist without bearing a part of the terrible burden.

That the people are now divided into two very distinct classes, *tax-payers*, and *tax-receivers* (or, as they are properly enough called, *tax-eaters*); that whatever the former are compelled to give to the latter can never again be of any benefit to those former; and that, in short, what a man pays in taxes is just so much of *loss* to him, and of loss *for ever*, exactly as much so as if it were tossed into the sea.

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That, therefore, the tradesman, farmer, or other person, who receives none of the taxes, works to maintain the placemen, pensioners, sinecure people, grantees, the soldiers, the sailors, the half-pay people, and the like, with all, their wives and families; that those live at their ease on the fruit of his labour; and that, thus, he is made to be poor; he and his family are *kept down*, while, the tax-eaters and their families are raised up and kept above them; so that it would not be so hard for him if the money taken from him by the tax-gatherer were flung into the sea, because then it would raise nobody above him.

That, according to the ancient laws of the country, the poor were relieved, and the churches built and repaired, and the colleges maintained, out of the tithes and other revenues of the church; that those church revenues formed a third part of the rental of all the real property; that now all these revenues are possessed by the aristocracy, the rich, and the clergy; that the clergy are, in fact, the relations or other persons connected with the great; and that the burden of relieving the poor, and of building and repairing the churches, is thrown upon the people at large, while the matter is so managed as to deprive the families of the poor, and of tradesmen and farmers, of all the benefits to be derived from the colleges.

That, thus, be the talents, the industry, the frugality of the labourer, the artisan, the tradesman, or the farmer, what they may, it is next to impossible for any man in those

states of life to raise himself above the risk of ending his days in poverty, if not in misery; and that every one, who is not a receiver of taxes, must expect, at the very least, to labour all his life long without 9 even the hope of adding to the ease and comfort of his family.

That, as a specimen of the manner in which the taxes are expended, large sums have been given out of them to "relieve the poor clergy of the Church of England," while many of the Bishops of that church have each a revenue of more than twenty, and some of them forty, thousand pounds a year; while several have recently died leaving more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling each, in personal property; while a large part of the beneficed clergy hold two or more livings each, and while, according to a return laid before parliament, in 1814 (there has been none made since), there were, out of 10,602 livings, 6,804 *non-resident* incumbents; that is to say, parsons not residing in the parishes of which they had the tithes and other revenues!

That, as another specimen of this sort, large sums have been given, out of the taxes, to men who, after the war, became rectors, vicars, and, perhaps, dignitaries, and who received this half-pay, as soldiers and sailors, while they were receiving the incomes of their livings, and while they called themselves *spiritual* persons; though, observe, the law says that the *clerical character is indelible*, and though numerous persons have been deprived of their half-pay upon the ground that it was not a reward for past, but a retaining fee for *future*, services! So that here was a law declaring that parsons *never could serve* as *soldiers or sailors*; and here was a *retaining fee given to them for future services as soldiers or sailors!*

That, as another specimen in the same way, the people are now taxed for the building of new churches in places become more populous than formerly, while there are, in England, about two hundred parishes which have no A 5 10 *churches* at all, and while there are about a thousand parishes not averaging a hundred inhabitants, while, however, the parsons continue to receive the tithes and other church-revenues of those parishes.

That, as another specimen, while there were only 15 foreign ministers in the nation's *employ*, it had, in 1808, when the last return was made, to pay 57 foreign ministers; that it has to pay one Field Marshal or one General to about every 163 soldiers in the army, and five Generals to every regiment of soldiers; that it has to pay two Admirals for every one of its ships of the line, and one Admiral for every 140 sailors.

That the House of Commons caused to be printed, on the 3d of July, 1828, a report of a Committee on the Poor Laws (the object of which Committee was to devise the means of lessening the poor-rates), and that the evidence taken before that Committee (and printed with the Report) contains the following statements, by the several persons here named: —By Mr. Lister, of Minster, in Kent: That "the convicts (on board the "hulks) are a great deal better off than our labouring "poor, let the man (the convict) be ever so bad a man; "that the convicts come on shore to work; that they "do not work so hard nor so many hours as the common Idquo; labourers, and that they live better; that it is "very common for the convicts to save money, and to "carry from ten to forty pounds away from the hulks "when they are discharged; that the witness has "heard several labouring men declare, that if they "could commit any act so as to be condemned to labour "in the hulks, they would gladly do it."—By Mr. Henry Boyce, of Waldershire, in Kent, who did himself infinite honour on this occasion: "That he "has seen 30 or 40 young men, in the prime of life, 11 "degraded by being hooked on to carts and wheel-barrows, "dragging stones to the highways, because "they could get no employment elsewhere; that, in "the parish of Ash, there is a regular meeting every "Thursday, where the paupers are put up to auction, "and their labour sold for the week, and it often hap pens that there is no bidder; that this want of "employment does not arise from an overstock of hands, "but from the want of money in the farmers to pay the "hands out of employ."—By Mr. Nathan Driver, of Ferneux Pelham, Herts: "That the labourers "in the parish are let out; and that when a young man "has a bastard laid to him, he chooses now not to enter "into bonds to maintain the bastard, but to go to prison." —By Mr. Lister Ellis, of Liverpool: "That in "the workhouse in that place, they make the labour as "irksome and disagreeable as they can devise, in order "to induce the

labourers to resort to their own resources; "that he thinks that the able-bodied labourers "are made too comfortable in this workhouse; that "when any of them have been sent to the House of "Correction from the workhouse, and come back, they "say they would rather be sent to the House of Correction "again."—By a Wiltshire Magistrate, who is not named: "That, according to the price of "labour in the neighbourhood of Hindon and Salisbury, "on the 24th of June 1828, the weekly 'earnings' of "a man, wife, and one son, amounted to nine shillings "a week; and if the man had five children besides, "he was allowed in 'relief,' 1s. 9d. a week, in "addition to the earnings; and as the bread was 1s. 3d. "the gallon-loaf, at the same time and place, each of "these people had 160 ounces of bread in a week, or 12 "21 ounces a day, and nothing else, and nothing for "drink, fuel, clotling, or lodging!"

That, according to a return of places and pensions, laid before parliament in the year 1808 (no return of the like sort having since been submitted to the public), there were several hundreds of persons belonging to noble families who received pensions, or the amount of sinecures, out of the taxes raised upon the people; that there were whole families maintained in this manner, women and children as well as men, without any, even the smallest, pretence of their ever having rendered any service to the country; and that no parliamentary committees have ever sitten in order to devise the means of lessening the charge of keeping these people.

That, during this last session: of parliament, a bill passed the House of Commons, authorizing the keepers of poor-houses, of hospitals, and of debtor-prisons, to *dispose* of the dead bodies of the most unfortunate part of the poor, for the purposes of dissection; that though this bill did not pass the House of Lords, the Prime Minister said that he approved of the principle of it; that the man who brought the bill into the House of Commons, and whose name is Warburton, has given notice that he will revive it next year; and that no bill has ever been proposed to authorize the tax-payers, or any public servants whomsoever, to dispose of the dead bodies of these men, women, and children, kept out of the taxes, nor of the dead bodies of the "poor clergy of the Church of England," who,

according to the financial returns laid before parliament, have been " relieved " out of the taxes, as the poor are relieved out of the rates.

That a petition, presented to the House of Commons in 1793, by Mr. Grey , now Earl Grey , and received 13 by that House, stated, and offered to bring proof to the bar, that a decided majority of that House was returned by 154 persons, some of them peers, and some of them rich commoners; that the House of Commons, during the last session (though no reform has taken place), voted 114 against 44 that *there were no decayed boroughs* , and other places, for which members could be returned *through the instrumentality of money* ; and that a return laid before the same House in 1805, shows that the then members of that House received amongst them, *annually* , £178,994 of the public money.

4. A large volume would not contain a bare statement of the facts which might be stated as bearing directly on this case. But, if here be not *enough*, no man can imagine enough: if here be not enough to make a man, who has some money left, and a family to provide for; if here be not enough to make such a man look about him, and begin to stir, nothing is enough: he must be fashioned for slavery, and, finally, for being a subject for the sons of "science." However, the present case is not half described in the above propositions; for, by the last measure relating to the money of the country, the taxes will, in reality, be doubled before Christmas next. Dreadful is the ruin already; but it must be, beyond all measure, greater in a few months' time. By the time that the small notes shall be all taken in, and their circulation put an end to, every man will pay just twice as much, in reality, in tax, for a pot of beer, or a bushel of malt, as he paid only last year. It will be the same in all other cases. Tradesmen and farmers are now pushed to their wits' end; they are daily declining in their circumstances: any money that they may have saved is melting away; their property is, under this diminution of the quantity of small notes, butter before an April sun; but, by-and-by, 14 the remainder will, under the total abolition of those notes, be butter before a *July* sun.

- 5. The parliament has separated, and has left all the taxes *unrepealed:* while they have left the Small-note Bill to cause to be doubled in value the money in which the taxes are paid. One of two consequences will result: *the five-pound notes will all be drawn in by degrees; or, there will be, as there was in 1797, a run upon all the banks, and upon the Bank of England in particular, unless this be prevented by a law of legal tender, like that of 1797.* If the former, prices will be much about what they were in 1792, before the five-pound notes came out; and the tax-payers, and even the tradesmen and farmers, will be reduced very nearly to *bread and water.* Let me explain this matter; for, though I have, in other writings, done this a thousand times over, it may now be necessary to do it once more.
- 6. This affair of PAPER-MONEY, which boasts of a greater number of victims than famine, pestilence, and the sword, all put together, has always been a species of mystery; and, notwithstanding the dreadful sufferings which it has occasioned, it is, generally speaking, a mystery still. It is irksome to repeat what one has so often said; but, upon this occasion, I must repeat. Many who disregarded what I said formerly will now pay attention to the very same words. First, then, taxes are so much taken away for ever, so much clear loss to those who pay them. Second: the greater the quantity of money that there is circulating in any country, the higher the prices will be in that country: for instance, if meat be to-day 6 d. a pound, and if, to-morrow, the quantity of money be doubled, meat will then be 1s. a pound; and, on the contrary, meat will be 3 d. a pound, if the quantity of money be reduced in the proportion of one-half. Third: so that the government, 15 by causing the small notes to be drawn in, and thereby lessening the quantity of money circulating in the country, cause all prices to be lowered; cause a shop full of goods, or a farmer's stock, to sell for much less than either of them sold for before; and the farmer who has to pay a fixed rent, and whose stock was bought when it was at a high price, loses greatly by this change in the value of money; and the shopkeeper, who has bought his cloth, for instance, at 20 s. a yard, is compelled to sell it for 15 s. perhaps; and if either of these be in debt, he is a ruined man; and this is the case of hundreds of thousands of farmers and tradesmen at this very moment.

- 7. Let us take an instance: A is a London wholesale dealer in *shirts*, which he has made up, and which he sells to retail dealers in town and country. He has bought his cotton, of which the shirts are made, at 1 s. a yard, and a shirt takes 3 yards, and the making is 1 s., so that he must, to have a profit, sell the shirt for more than 4 s. But the government lessens the quantity of circulating money, and A can sell his shirts for only 2 s. each! If he have *saved* any money, he thus loses it; if not, he is ruined. His shop, his scale of living, the wages of his work-people, all have been bottomed on the 4 s. shirt. For his shop he must still pay the same sum; and, though he turn off half his work-people, and reduce the rest to 6 d. a shirt, he must be ruined, unless he have *saved* money beforehand.
- 8. But, suppose him to have saved money, and to be able to get over this blow; suppose him to be able to bear the loss on this shopful of goods, and that he (as he will of course) take care to buy, next time, sufficiently low to save himself from loss; still there are THE TAXES. These, direct and indirect, take from every tradesman and farmer more than one half of his profits, including the interest on his capital, or money embarked in his business. The small 16 notes being circulating freely, and the quantity of money in the country being great, farmer B has to pay, altogether, 100 l. a year in taxes; and, as wheat is 10 s. a bushel, he has, in fact, to give the tax-gatherer 200 bushels of his wheat. But the government having drawn in the small notes, and made money, in quantity, one-half what it was before, wheat falls to 5 s. a bushel, and farmer B has to give the tax-gatherer 400 bushels of his wheat; and this works farmer B to an oil, though he cannot think how it is that he becomes poor; and he, if base enough to be ready to crawl on his belly to the government, abuses any one that tells him that he is beggared by the taxes; "because," says he, "I pay no more in tax now than I did years ago." The brute does not, and he will not, perceive, that, though the sum is the same in name, it is, in fact, doubled in amount. If the slavish brute were to pay in wheat instead of money, he would perdeive how he was ruined; but such is the baseness of many farmers, that, even then, such brutes would, for the far greater part, lay the blame on something other than the conduct of the government.

9. Besides, the THING is crafty enough to deceive the devil himself. It comes at the people in so many different, and in such covert ways, that it requires a degree of attention and penetration, much greater than that which falls to the lot of men in general, to enable a farmer, or any body else, to discover, or even to guess at the amount of the taxes that he really does pay; and when you talk to farmers in general upon the subject, you hear them say that it cannot be the taxes that make the distress, for that they pay no taxes, except "a trifle for dog, horse, gig, and windows." They do not, and will not perceive, that in the cost of malt and hops taken together, more than a half is tax; that in the cost of soap and candle more than a half is tax; that, 17 in the cost of tea, two-thirds are, before it reach them, tax; that, in the cost of sugar, three-fourths are tax; that, in the cost of tobacco, nine-tenths are tax; that, in the cost of spirits, seven eighths are tax; that, in the cost of shoes, more than one-half is tax; that, in the cost of other wearing apparel, including the taxes on wool, on cotton, on silk, on dyeing stuff, and on some of the goods themselves, after made full one-half is tax; that, in the cost of pepper, at this moment, the price is 3d. and the tax 2s. a pound! Let me say this in words, lest the world should not believe it. Pepper, at this moment, costs threepence a pound, in the port of London; and the tax on that pounds is two shillings. It is much about the same with all other species, drugs, and the like. Besides those articles, there is the iron, and the leather, and timber, used by farmers and others. In short, we can touch nothing, we can see nothing, that is not taxed; and it is an indisputable fact, that every tradesman and farmer pays, in one way or another, to the government, in taxes, more than one-half of the profits of his business, including the interest of the money employed in that business. If we ride in a chaise, or a coach, or on a horse; if we keep a dog; if we have window to see through, or servant to title to property, no right of occupation; we can neither lend nor borrow; nor pay; nor receive money; nor can we ask for law or justice; without paying a tax: and when the breath id out of our bodies, the government demands a strict account of our beguests, and takes from our children, or other, a large part of what we leave behind us. The poor taxes must be included, because they are caused by the other taxes. If a labouring man got his malt for 3 s. a bushel, his beer for 1½d. a pot, his tea for 1 s. 6 d. a pound, his sugar for

3d. a pound, his meat for 2 *d.* a pound, his bread for 1 *d.* a pound, his spirit at 1 *s.* a gallon, and so on, as 18 is now the case in America, there would be *no need of poor rates*. This being the case, how is a farmer or tradesman to make head against these taxes *now*, when they have been, within three years, augmented in *real amount one-third*; and when it is evident that they must soon be *doubled?*

10. But, now, look at another part of this process of ruin. Some years back, the salaries of the judges, those of the police magistrates, the pay of the army, the allowances to Royal Family, and, in short, the pay of all persons in office, who were paid out of the taxes, was augmented; doubled in some instances, and more than doubled in others. And, on what ground was this done? Why, expressly on the ground that the great quantity of papermoney that was cirlating had caused prices to rise; had made the money of the country less valuable; and, of course, that the soldiers and others ought to have a larger sum of it. Well! If this were just then, what ought to be done now, when the paper-money is become small in quantity, and when prices are as low as they were before the salaries and pay were augmented? Why, those salaries and that pay ought to be reduced, to be sure, to their old nominal amount: but the government have no notion of this; and the taxeaters are, apparently, to continue to receive, in fact, more and more, until, at last, the taxpayers must be reduced to absolute beggary. Observe, too, that almost the whole of the debt was contracted in money not half so valuable as the present money; and yet we are now to pay, and do pay, to the fundbolder the same nominal interest; or, in other words, we pay him twice as much as we ought to pay him; and, mind, the government cannot reduce the interest of the fundholder without reducing their own salaries! So that now the tax-payers have, if they remain here, and if no reduction of taxes take place, certain ruin and degradation before their eyes: they must daily sink lower and lower, 19 while the tax-eaters daily tower higher and higher above them: and, observe, the Prime Minister declared, on the 26th of May, in his place in the House of Lords, that, even if the whole of the debt had been contracted in money of the low value, GOOD FAITH required that the interest should be paid in money of the present value, that is to say, in money double

the value of that, in which the great part of the debt was contracted! Of course, there can be no intention on the part of government to lessen the nominal amount of the taxes. while it is clear that, in a few months' time, the real amount will be twice as great as it was only about two years ago! Under such a burden, no trade, no agriculture, can be carried on without loss: tradesmen must spend their savings, live on their creditors, or quit their business; and farmers must spend their savings, pay no rent, or flee from their farms. The placeman and pensioner gain, on the contrary, by this operation. There is, for instance, little Hobhouse's Father; who has twelve hundred pounds a year, as commissioner of the Nabob of Arcot's debts, and a house to live in. The rise in the value of money, which has been caused by the withdrawing of the one-pound notes, really doubles Old Hobhouse's salary. That salary will buy him and his wife and family twice as much to eat, drink, or wear, as it would have bought them in the year 1825. But, while the drawing in of the small notes does this for the family of Hobhouse, see what it does for the tradesmen, whom the Rump enable young Hobhouse to insult by calling them his "constituents." One of these has sent me a statement of his receipts, in ready money, in each of the months during the last ten years, I will here insert his letter to me, as well as his statement of receipts; and when I have done so, I will add some remarks:

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TO MR. COBBETT.

Sir , *London, 28TH May, 1329.*

On reading your letter to the Duke of Wellington, in the Register of the 2d instant, relative to the receipts of the *Market Gardener*, I could not but think with you how applicable the statement was to all classes of persons engaged in every sort of business. I have, therefore, the first oppurtunity, ascertained from my own books for ten years past the sums I have taken *across the counter;* that is, in ready money, totally independent of money paid me on the credit business. You see, Sir, how my receipts correspond with his. I should have gone back to the year 1816, as he has done, but cannot conveneintly lay my hand

upon the book having the account previous to 1819. I have stated the receipts of each month, merely to show *how quick the effect of Pell's* bill was felt; pray mark *Prosperity Robinson's* year; and then see the extraordinary fall off in the following year of 1826. As you say with regard to the Market Garderner's expenses remaining the same, so do mine, as far as respects house-rent and taxes. I have lessened my expenses, as far as I possibly can, by discharging my assistants; but still it will not do: but how long the thing may hold together we can only guess. My hope is, that the Minister may hold to the bill, as I am as certain as of death, that it is the only thing that will ultimately cause stability in prices, and give stability to the government itself. One thing is certain, that to *your shop they must at last go.* For myself, I care but little; but, unfortunately, I have property of some very worthy people in my trade; and I grive that I cannot abstract it therefrom.—I have sent you, Sir, my name and address; you will at once see, that by publishing them I might run the risk of being seriously injured; as such you will please to refrain from doing so. I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

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A Tradesman's Monthly Receipts, from 1819 to 1828.

1819. 1820. 1821. 1822. 1823. 1824. 1825. 1826. 1827. 1828. £. s. d. £. s.

- 11. Now, tax-payers, look well at this statement, and say where this ruin is to *stop!* See how the receipts FELL, from 1819 to 1822, *while the small notes were going in;* also see how those receipts ROSE, from 1823 to 1825, *while the small notes were coming out;* and then see how they FELL again from 1826 to 1828, *while the small notes were going in.* Look at the receipts of 1828, compared with those of 1825! Look at the whole thing; reflect *that we are by no means, as yet, got near to the lowest point;* and, then, if you be not a tax-eater, hope, if you can, to escape utter ruin, unless you flee in time. If you have nothing to lose, you can lose nothing; but, reader, if you have any thing left; if you be tradesman or farmer; if you get nothing out of the taxes; and if you would rather keep your property for the benefit of your own family than give it up for the benefit of the family of Hobhouse, or the like, *begin to look about you!*
- 12. Let us see, now, the *manner in which this works on*. This tradesman receives goods from the manufacturers in the North, and sells them out of his shop in London, some by retail and some to little dealers. In consequence of this falling off in his trade, his orders are lessened in proportion; the people in the North have a like falling off; those that they purchase food and raiment from have the same; the London tradesman keeps less servants, and spends less on eating and drinking; all these parties become *poorer* and *lower* than they were before; while the tax-eaters are, from the very same cause, becoming richer and higher: the tradesman must sell his horse and gig; but old Hobhouse, or such like placeman, can afford to clap on an additional pair of horses to his carriage. The Duke of Wellington seems to think, that it would be a good thing to make the tradesman *come down* to a lower state than that which he is in at present; but, there can be no *stop;* there 23 can be *no resting place* for him, till he be utterly ruined; that is to say, if the present measures be to be persevered in. It is the same with the farmer, and, indeed, with all those who have *not fixed incomes*, and who do *not receive a part of the taxes*.
- 13. Some people have a notion, that *when things come to their worst, they will mend.*Why should they? Why should this be true in *any* case? If the present law remain in force;

if the ministers go on making the money of higher and higher value, and, at the same time, compel the people to pay the interest of the fundholders and all the placemen. pensioners, sinecure people, soldiers, and the like; in the same nominal sums that we now pay them; if, in other words, the ministers go on, taking more and more from the tax-payers to give to the tax-eaters, until the farmer, for instance, can pay not a farthing of rent, and until tradesmen be reduced to actual beggary: if we come to this pass, why and how are things to mend? If people go on sinking by degrees, until they become halfstarved slaves, they remain such to be sure. If the present money-measures go on, until the bushel of wheat sell for 4 s., and until that become its settled price, and, until cloth and cotton and other goods sell for the half of what they sell for now, why should these things ever sell at a higher price? If the drawing in of a part of the small notes (for they are half out yet) have, since 1825, reduced the above tradesman's receipts from £2,304 a year, to £774 a year, what reason is there to hope, that, when the whole of the small notes shall be withdrawn, his receipts will become larger? What reason, what sense, is there, then, in hoping that "things will mend, when they get to their worst?" What fool ever yet comforted himself with the reflection that his occasional asthma must, at last, become a settled consumption? What miscreant, even what brazen Boroughmonger 24 villain, ever yet looked anxiously for hell as the end of all his troubles? Oh, no! To talk of things *mending* is madness; or, rather, it is *cowardice*. Men are ashamed to submit to ruin so clearly seen; and, therefore, they pretend to believe, that this ruin will bring its own remedy. Here is tax-payer A compelled to give up nearly all the fruits of his industry to tax-eater B, leaving himself little more than bare food and raiment: here are laws and regulations which compel A to continue always to do this: and yet this A is such a base coward as to pretend to believe, that, by-and-by, when these laws and regulations have worked on, so as to compel him to give to B still more of the fruits of his labour, he shall be " better off," things will " mend" with him, things will " come about!"

14. But we are told, "Things have come about before." True; and we have a very striking proof of this in the receipts stated in the above table. Here we see, that Peel's Bill of 1819

had, in 1822, brought down the receipts from £1,663 (which was the amount in 1819) to £1,183, which was the amount in 1822; and, we see, that, in 1825, the receipts rose up to £2,304! So that things *did come about;* they did *mend;* and, WHY should they not *now mend again?* The answer to this question will contain all that any man of sense will want to know on the subject: the answer to this WHY is the all-in-all, relative to the matter of emigration, and relative to the fate of this country; and, therefore, I beseech you to pay attention to this answer, which lies in a small compass, and which is as follows:

15. The error, the fatal error, has arisen from our using the *neuter* instead of the *active* verbs, in speaking of the change which took place in the years from 1823 to 1825, both inclusive. If, instead of saying, that "things came "about, and that things mended," we had said, that "things " were put about, and that things were mended," we should 25 have had a more correct idea of what we ought now to expect: if we had spoken of the change of 1823 to 1825 as a thing which was made by Act of Parliament, we should not now be expecting that another such change would take place of itself; of its own accord; that it would come about; that the thing would mend itself! The change of 1823 to 1825 was made thus: In July, 1822, the law required the small notes to be totally abolished on the 1st of May, 1823; that is to say, in *nine months* from July, 1822. This near approach of the small-note suppression brought traders and farmers to such a state of ruin, that, in the month just mentioned, an Act was passed to legalize the issue of small notes for eleven years longer! This was, in fact, understood to be for ever. This act brought our millions of small notes, made money plenty, raised prices, made "prosperity," and, in 1825, made the receipts of the tradesman £2,304 instead of the £1,183, which they were in 1822. The government, at the same time that it passed this act, borrowed many millions of notes of the Bank, and paid them away, so that they made another addition to the circulating money.

16. In this manner things were put about, things were mended, in 1823 to 1825; and if the Collective had, before they separated this year, passed an act like that of July, 1822, and had borrowed nine or ten millions in bank notes, and thrown them into circulation;

then, indeed, things might have been reasonably expected *to come about*, in the same way that they did in 1823 to 1825. But, the Collective are gone away (for which I thank God!) and have done neither of these; they have passed no act in favour of small notes; and they have borrowed no bank notes to throw into circulation. And, while the Collective have acted thus, the minister, the hero of Waterloo, has told us, that he will *adhere to the present law;* that is, that he will go on, until all the small B 26 notes be extinguished; which, as I have shown, is just the same thing as sentencing all tax-payers, who are not tax-receivers, to great decline, at least, and, in most cases, to ruin and degradation!

17. Now, let us look at the consequences, if the government should give way, and put the small notes out again. This cannot be done now without being accompanied with, or speedily followed by, a law to protect the banks (all the banks) against paying in gold. The notes would then be neither more nor less than assignats: these would depreciate at a great rate: the gold and silver would not circulate upon a par with them: there would be two prices for goods, a paper-price and a money-price: the taxes would be paid in paper; and, perhaps, a sheep would soon be sold for a pound in money, and for two or three pounds in paper. The state must be a beggar in a very short time; and this is what will to a certainty take place, if the government put out the one-pound notes again. So that, thus far, we see the government left to choose between the utter ruin and degradation of the people on the one hand, and the beggaring and overthrow of the state on the other. There is, however, another course; namely, the EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT, prayed for in the Norfolk Petition. This would be effectual, just, and safe; but this is my remedy, and, therefore, will not be adopted.

18. If the small notes were to be put out again, and be accompanied, as they must be, with bank-restriction and legal tender, and these followed by *assignats* and *two prices*, the times would be good for tradesmen and farmers, especially for *poor ones;* and, as *even the present measures*, if well followed up, must give the whole system a *terrible shaking* in a year, or two, or three; this being the case, I, if I were a tradesman or farmer, *with little or no money*, should be disposed to remain to see the *upshot*, or, at any 27

rate, to remain a year or so longer, especially if my age and family were such as not to render the loss of a year or two of much importance. But, if I were a tradesman or farmer. and had money sufficient to set me down in a farm, or in a shop, or in any business in the settled part of the United States, and had a family to provide for, not one single penny more of that money should go to pay the doubled salaries, doubled pensions, doubled soldiers' and sailors' pay, and doubled dividends to the fundholders, notwithstanding the hero of Waterloo says, that " good faith " requires such payment. I, without finding fault with those who are fond of a *dear* government, would seek a *cheap* one; without by any means setting myself up as a critic on the taste of those who like to pay for archways, the bare sculpture of one of which costs thirty-four thousand pounds, I would certainly go to a country where the Chief Magistrate costs the nation less than that sum in five years! In short, having the money, I would put it out of the reach of those who would, if I remained, take it from me and give it to the fundholders, soldiers, sailors, placemen, pensioners, dead-weight, sinecure people, and parsons. And, were I a gentleman, carrying on no business and following no profession, and able to remove my property, I would do the same. I could not live here without giving to placemen and the rest much more than half my income. I defy any one to point out the means of avoiding this. If, therefore, there were nothing particular belonging to me to induce me to remain, in the hope of being able to effect something in behalf of myself and my neighbours; if there were nothing to make me believe myself able and likely to assist in producing some change for the better, not a penny more of my income should the double-salaried placemen have.

19. It being, for the reasons which I have here stated, my opinion, that things are now such, in England, and the prospects B 2 28 such, that it is, in numerous cases, advisable for people to emigrate in order to save themselves from ruin, from degradation, from the poor-house, and, finally, from the knives of the human-butchers; this being my opinion, and having now a pile of letters, nearly a hundred in number, from anxious tradesmen and farmers, requesting my advice on a subject so momentous to them; thinking thus, being thus applied to, and it being quite out of my power to give answers, or to give an interview,

to these respectable applicants, for whom I feel most deeply interested; thus situated, I will, in a series of Letters, give such information and advice as I think likely to guide any rational man through the enterprise of emigration, not only with perfect safety, but with ease and pleasure. In these Letters (of which this Introductory Letter is No. 1) I shall treat — Of the descriptions of persons to whom emigration would be most beneficial —Of the preparations some time previous to sailing—Of the parts of the United States to go to, preceded by reasons for going to no other country, and especially not to an English colony —On the sort of ship to go in, and on the steps to be taken, relative to the passage and the sort of passage; also to stores, and other things to be taken out with the Emigrant; and especially how to carry, or transmit, money—On precautions to be observed while on board of ship, whether in cabin or steerage—On the first steps to take on landing—On the way to proceed to get a farm or a shop, to settle in business, or to seat yourself down as an independent gentleman—Of the prices (in different parts of the country) of land, labour, food, clothing, house rent, and other things—Of such other matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States. Wm. COBBETT.

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LETTER II. On the description of Persons to whom Emigration would be most beneficial.

20. I have not labourers in view, so much as persons in trade, and farmers, and manufacturers, who have some little money which they would rather not have taken from them by the tax-gatherer. Nevertheless, there are a great many labourers; a great many journeymen tradesmen, and a great many operative manufacturers; that is to say, *working* manufacturers; for I detest the other nasty word, the offspring of false pride, which but too generally accompanies a slavish disposition. A workman is a workman, and a master is a master; there is nothing insolent in the assumption of the latter, and nothing mean in the recognition of the former.

21. As far as relates to labourers in husbandry, to mechanics, and the like, who have to work for their bread, and who must expect to work for it every where, none but the able ought to go abroad. The aged, the infirm, the helpless, from no matter what cause, might be better off indeed, if they were now in America; but, there is the going thither; there is the pulling up and transplanting, and the taking root again; and there are toil and sufferings of some sort or other attending these movements; and therefore they are not to be 30 undertaken, unless the party see before him pretty nearly a certainty of bettering his lot. Above all things, no man should remove to another country for fear of being compelled to load a parish in this country. Let no man afflict his mind with fears of that sort; for he, a thousand to one, has already done more for the rich, than they will ever do for him. I do not wish by any means, to inculcate ingratitude; and I hold it to be perfectly proper, that people in the lower walks of life should carry themselves respectfully towards those, whom birth, or superior talent, or industry, has placed above themselves; but, generally speaking, the poorer part of the people of England have, of late years, been so cruelly treated, even by the laws themselves, that there is seldom to be found a man of any of the labouring classes from whom gratitude is due to any persons in the higher classes. Therefore, if the party has no other motive for removing, except that of sparing the purses of the rich, I advise him to remain. I have just heard, that, in Wiltshire, a young man has been sent to prison for a month, for no other offence than that of not going to shut a gate, when the Bailiff of the owner bid him do it. Two young men had passed through the gateway of a field, and left the gate open. The Bailiff ordered one of them to go and shut it; the young man, who was not in the service of the Bailiff's master, did not do it. The Bailiff summoned him before a Magistrate, who, for that offence alone, which he described as a bad crime , sent him to prison for a month, the county having to maintain him in prison and to pay the constable about 12 s. for taking him thither. In that same parish, from which this young man is sent, the county rates are nearly seven times as great as they were thirty years ago. The Morning Herald newspaper, of the 29th June of this year, says: "Last week a poor man, named Abraham "gentry, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment; 31 "in

Chelmsford jail, for stealing *three cabbages*, the "property of Mr. Wm. Moore, of Great Burstead."

- 22. Such is the treatment of the labourers of England. Why, if the proprietor of a field in America were to attempt to punish a man for taking even a cart-load of cabbages; that is to say, to punish him by sending him to jail, he would not have his brains knocked out, to be sure; but he would never have a neighbour to come near him again as long as he lived. Until of late years, to take cabbages, or such things, was merely a *trespass* according to our law, for which trespass the depredator was answerable by civil action; and such is the law in America now; and, as to sending a man to jail for leaving a *gate open*, that is directly contrary to the laws as they now stand. But, what means of redress has this poor young man: how is he to call the magistrate to account? Where is he to find a defender? He has no defender: he has no redress; and he has nothing to support him under the oppression but the just vengeance treasured up in his heart.
- 23. In what manner English labourers are treated when they get to America, I shall have amply to show in the next letter. I would add here, that, if they be of a timid character; if they be slavishly inclined; if they be of that character which fits them for slaves, it is no matter where they are, and they may as well have task-masters here as any where else: but, if they be of a different character; if they be worthy of freedom and of happiness, the way to obtain that freedom and happiness will be pointed out to them in the next letter.
- 24. As to tradesmen and farmers, those amongst them who are willing to continue to be underlings all their life long; those who are too timid to venture beyond the smoke of their chimneys; those who cannot endure the thought of 32 encountering things which they call inconveniences; and especially those who cannot be happy unless they have slaves to serve them, will do exceedingly well to remain where they are. There is a description of persons who are quite willing to be slaves themselves, provided they are able to play the tyrant over others. This character is now become a great deal too general; and all persons

of this character ought to remain where they are; for, never will they find a slave, not even a black one, to crawl to them in America.

25. Provided a man be of the right stamp; provided he be ready to encounter some little inconvenience in the removal; provided he be a man of sense, and prepared to overcome the little troubles which the removal must necessarily give rise to; and, especially, provided that he be of that character which will make him happy without seeing wretched creatures crawling to him, his age is of little consequence; and the age and number of his children are of little consequence also. I have known men of sixty years of age go to America, take a family with them, settle that family well, and, after living many years surrounded by them, leaving them with a certainty that they would never know want. There are thousands of tradesmen and farmers at this moment in England, that know not what to do; know not which way to turn themselves; know not whether to keep on business or to leave off, fearing, do what they will, that they shall lose the earnings of their lives. They look wildly about them, in anxious search of hope, and every where they behold the grounds of despair. They think of emigration: they hesitate: there are the fears of their wives: there are their own fears and doubts; and, while they are hesitating, doubting, and fearing, their money goes away; and, at last, they must land in America as mere labourers or journeymen, or they must remain to pine away their lives in penury, and, perhaps, 33 to die with the moral certainty that their bodies will be consigned to those who will mangle them to pieces for the improvement of science.

26. Why, if such people were, even after they had spent their money, to land in America with nothing but their clothes on their backs, their emigration would be an improvement of their condition: they would, with one half of the industry which they have been accustomed to practise here, possess more of money and of estate than they ever possessed here; and this, bold as the assertion may appear, I pledge myself to prove in the next letter. But these things are demanded in order to ensure success: first, health of body with tolerable strength; second, a willingness to labour, and a character sufficient to enforce obedience

in the family; third, an absence of that base pride which will not suffer a man to be happy without having somebody *under* him.

27. There is one other quality, without the possession of which all the rest are of no use; namely, that quality which enables a man to overcome the scruples, the remonstrances, and the wailings, of his wife. Women, and especially English women, transplant very badly, which is indeed a fact greatly in their praise. It is amiable in all persons to love their homes, their parents, their brethren, their friends, and their neighbours; and, in proportion as they have this love in their hearts, they will be reluctant to quit their home, and especially to quit their country. English women have an extraordinary portion of this affection; and, therefore, they are to be treated with all possible indulgence in the case here contemplated, provided that indulgence do not extend so far as to produce injury to their families and themselves. Some of them, by no means destitute of these amiable feelings, have the resolution voluntarily to tear themselves from ruin and slavery for the B 5 34 sake of their children. Others have not this sort of resolution; and there are some who are obstinately perverse. It is a misfortune when this happens to be the case; but it is a poor creature of a man who will suffer this obstinacy to make him and his children beggars for the remainder of their lives. Nothing harsh ought to be done or attempted in the overcoming this difficulty; but, harshness and firmness are very different things: this is one of the great concerns of a family, with regard to which the decision must be left to the head of that family; and, if a man should have the misfortune to make part of a family, of which there is neither head nor tail, but which consists of a sort of partnership, without articles or bonds, it signifies very little in what country the family is; or whether it be living in a good house, or quartered under a hedge like gipsies. A family without a head, a real efficient practical head, is like a ship without a rudder. It would be a great deal better that the wife should be the head than that there should be no head at all. In France, man and wife are a sort of partners. The wife calls every thing *mine*, and the man sits and holds his tongue while she is gabbling about the concern.

28. There is one thing which every English wife ought to be told, when a husband is proposing to emigrate; and that is, that the American husbands are the most indulgent in the world; but, at the same time, she ought to be told, that the American wives are the least presuming, the most docile, the least meddling in their husbands* affairs, and the most attentive to their own affairs, of all the women upon the face of the earth. America is a country full of writers and talkers upon politics; full of political quarrels and of angry political discussions; and I do not recollect that I ever heard a wife in America open her lips upon any such subject. They appear to have no pretensions to any right to meddle with their husbands* concerns; 35 and the husbands, on their part, are certainly the most gentle and the most indulgent in the world, but not more so than is merited by such wives. I never did know an American that was married to a French woman; though I have known several American women married to Frenchmen. This last does very well; but the other would produce strange work: Jonathan would certainly decamp or hang himself before the end of a month. At any rate, however, if this difficulty cannot be overcome by the English emigrant; if he meet with perverseness, and cannot completely subdue it, and root it out on this side of the water, he will do well to remain; for it is the very devil to be baited and worried on the other side of the water; to be reminded every time the flies settle upon the preserved peaches, that they do not do this in old England; and to have to show your wit, by observing, that it would be difficult for them to do it in England; and to add the question, whether it were not as well to be annoyed by flies in the eating of preserved peaches, as not to have any peaches to eat? To live in a state of petty civil warfare like this, and that too several hours in every day, in clear addition to the ordinary inconveniences of life, is too great a deduction even from the advantages attending a residence in America; and, therefore, unless a man be man enough to *eradicate* the perverseness on this side of the water, let him remain here and resign himself with the reflection, that he is one of those mortals that were predestinated to be the slaves of Boroughmongers.

29. Nevertheless, this work of eradicating perverseness, even perverseness itself, should be performed with a very gentle hand. Great pains should be taken to *persuade*, to

convince; every appeal should be made to the understanding of the wife, and to her natural affection for her children; and even perverseness itself ought not, in a case like this, to be 36 rudely dealt with. A man is not so much bound to home by his habits; he who can take a journey to York; who goes here and there without ceremony; who mixes amongst utter strangers, without any reluctance or inconvenience; who can take a bed any where: and, in short, who is in the habit of changing place and seeing new faces, and all this without the least dislike. A man ought to consider, that women, and especially women with families, have been long bound to their homes; to their neighbourhood; to their small circles; most frequently much in the company of their mothers, sisters, and other relations; and that, to tear themselves from all these, and to be placed amongst strangers, and that too with the probability, and almost the certainty, of never seeing their circle of relations and friends: again; and to begin their departure on the wide ocean, the dangers of which are proverbial, and perfectly terrific to female minds; for a woman to do all this, without the greatest reluctance, is too much for any reasonable and just man to expect; yet, if the necessity arise, it is still his duty towards his children, and even towards the wife herself, to persevere in the effecting of his object.

30. Every effort should be made to convince her, that her apprehensions are much more imaginary than real; that, as to separation from relations and friends, the separation caused between Canterbury and London , or between Sussex and Warwickshire is just as effectual as a separation caused by a removal to America. That the far greater part of persons separated by the distance between Sussex and Warwickshire, are able to communicate only by letter; and that, in this respect, the wide separation differs but very little from the narrow, the parties still *hearing* from one another, in the former case as well as in the latter. That, as to neighbours and friends, and language and manners, and habits and morals, they are pretty much the same 37 on both sides of the water, with the exception (as I shall amply prove in the next letter) that the people in America are better neighbours, more friendly, more disposed to assist strangers than the people of England are; and this for the best reason in the world, because in America they live in a state

of ease and abundance, and that in England they do not and cannot. That, with regard to the dangers of the seas, they are of very rare occurrence, and are magnified, as the dangers of riding in stage-coaches are, by the circumstance of omitting, when accidents are recorded, to state the vast number of journeys performed with no accident at all: the broken ribs and bruised hips are faithfully put upon record, but the innumerable safe and pleasant journeys are never mentioned at the same time. That thus it is, with regard to sea voyages: the wrecks, the strokes of lightning, the founderings, are all faithfully detailed; but the safe passages are too common, too uninteresting, even to form the subject of a newspaper. Few wives are so timid as to be afraid to take a journey in a stage-coach from London to Exeter and back again; and yet that journey is more perilous, and far more perilous, than a voyage across the Atlantic in *American* ships commanded by an *American* captain. A sea voyage is *disagreeable;* it is a prison, with more inconveniences than a prison presents; but these inconveniences do not kill, and they are the contrary of being injurious to health; and, after all, these inconveniences have an average continuance of not more than five or six weeks.

- 31. All these things should be represented to a wife; her wailings should be heard with patience; even perverseness should be borne with as far as possible, if perverseness should unhappily possess her; but, after every possible effort has been made to reconcile her to the enterprise, go she must, or stay behind by herself: the law would prevent her husband from taking her away out of the King*s allegiance by *force;* but, 38 the law will not compel the man to *stay himself.* It is to be hoped, that there will be few instances in which things will be brought to this extremity; but, as it is the man whose body must answer for his debts; and as it is his duty to do that which he thinks is best for his children and his wife, the decision *must*, and *ought* to, rest with him.
- 32. We have recently read in all the newspapers, of a man being committed to prison and hard labour for a month, *because he had no home;* and it has just been proved before the magistrates in quarter sessions in Berkshire, that the honest labouring men, in that county, are allowed *less food than the felons in the jail of that county.* With these two facts before

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him, and with the facts which will be stated in the next letter, relative to the happy state of people in America, a man with a family of children must not only be weak, but criminal, if he be restrained by the alarms, the fears, or the perverseness, of a wife; that is to say, if he be in such state as to make him run the smallest risk of falling into poverty here.

LETTER III. On the Parts of the United States to go to, preceded by reasons for going to no other Country, and especially not to an English Colony.

33. There is no other country, except English colonies, in which the English language is spoken, and in which the habits and manners are the same. This is one great thing; but there is no other country in which there is a superabundance of good lands, and in which an increase of the population must necessarily be an advantage to the country. There is no other country where there is any room for numerous strangers; and, besides all these, there is no other country where the people have to pay so small a portion of taxes, and where kind and generous neighbours are to be found in abundance. To all these advantages add that of perfect civil and political liberty; and that, as to religion, the *law* knows nothing at all about it.

34. In English colonies the English language is spoken; and, as the support of the governments there comes out of the pockets of the people of England, there are few taxes in those colonies, though I perceive that they have already *an excise even at Botany Bay*. But, in the English colonies, there is a worse species of government than there is here; greater state of dependence, and less protection from 40 the law. In the year 1826, some persons, displeased with the freedom of opinion exercised by a printer in Upper Canada, did not prosecute him; but went by force and demolished his press, and flung his types into the lake. In fact, there is very little money in those colonies (I am speaking of those that can be considered places to emigrate to), except that which passes through the hands of the government. There are no persons of considerable property; scarcely one worthy of

the name of farmer; and no man in those colonies ever thinks of any degree of peace or safety, which he is not to derive from persons in power.

35. As to New South Wales, as it is called, and Van Diemen*s Land, the distance, in the first place, makes the voyage a terrible undertaking. When arrived, you depend on the public authorities for a grant of land. If you have money to purchase pieces of ground already cleared and cultivated, your servants are convicts, and you are at the joint mercy of them and the murdering natives. Even for the service of the convicts, your sole dependence is on the pleasure of the public authorities; and, in short, you are infinitely more dependent than any rack-renter under the most greedy and tyrannical Boroughmonger in England. If you find yourself miserable, and wish to return, preferring the wretched state that you have left to that which you find, your means of return are gone, and you have to undergo another voyage of seven or eight months, and to return to England a dejected and broken-hearted beggar.

36. The English colonies in North America consist of Lower and Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward*s Island. These form an immense extent of country; but with the exception of a small part of Canada, and here and there a little strip of land in New Brunswick, which have 41 been pre-occupied, the whole is wretchedly poor: heaps of rocks covered chiefly with fir-trees. These countries are the *offal* of North America; they are the head, the shins, the shanks, and hoofs, of that part of the world; while the United States are their sirloins, the well-covered and well-lined ribs, and the suet. People who-know nothing of the matter frequently observe, that the United States will *take* our American colonies one of these days. This would be to act the wise part of a thief, who should come and steal a stone for the pleasure of carrying it about. These miserable colonies, the whole of which do not contain, army, blacks, and all, a population equal to that of the single state of New York, are fed, with the exception of Canada, chiefly by food brought from the United States. Flour, beef, pork, and even fresh meat, are brought into these countries from the United States: even *green peas* and many other vegetables are carried from the United States to regale the petty sovereigns

who strut in that country, and are maintained by taxes raised in England. England has possessed those countries for more than a hundred years, except Canada, and has possessed that for pretty nearly a century; she has squandered hundreds of millions upon them; and if she were to withdraw the supplies of money, which she now sends thither, the whole of them, with the exception of some parts of Canada, would be totally abandoned in less than a year, except that some of the points near the sea would be, as they formerly were, resorted to by fishermen in the fishing-season. These are no countries to go to: a small part of Canada might become passable; but even there, the government and the state of dependence are such, that no sensible man will hesitate for a moment between that country and the United States, where land is equally abundant, where the products are fine and of infinite variety, and where, with a moderate portion of labour and 42 care, every man may do well. In short, the choice lies between the country which has to send for green peas to another country, and the country in which the green peas grow: I am for the latter, and so I think will be every man who has only a moderate portion of very common sense.

37. I have, in my "Year's Residence In America," given an account of the prices of land, of labour, of food, of clothing, house rent, and the like. I shall speak of all these by-and-by; but they will be found to be mentioned incidentally in certain original letters from English emigrants in America to their friends in England; and here also will be found a striking instance of the worthlessness of the English colonies compared with the United States. I shall here insert these letters, first giving an account of the source from which I have obtained them, and what led me to seek for that source. The reader is to be informed, then, that, since the publication of my "Year's Residence," several parishes in the East of Sussex have *got rid*, as they call it, of many families, that were a great burden to them, or likely to be so, by shipping them off, at the parish expense, to the United States of America; and the letters in question having been received by their relations in Sussex, a gentleman of the name of Benjamin Smith published a part of them for the information of others. I did not know Mr. Smith, and, therefore, I thought it necessary to go to the parties

themselves, and obtain the originals. I did this, and the originals are now in my hands. I have found Mr. Smith's publication to be perfectly correct, the orthography only being mended, and a little pointing supplied; and, therefore, I avail myself of his publication, in the republishing of the letters, which form the most interesting collection of documents that ever passed under my perusal. With these letters before him, and with no possible doubt as to their authenticity, 43 every man will be able to judge of, every man will know to a certainty, the exact state of things in the United States; especially as far as regards the fitness of that country as one to emigrate to.

38. I shall NUMBER the letters for the purpose of more easy reference, when I come afterwards to speak of the contents. The parties writing the letters, are John Watson, who went from the parish of Sedlescomb near Battle; from Stephen Watson, his brother, who went from the same place; from Mary Jane Watson, a daughter of Stephen Watson; from John Parks, who went from Ewhurst near Northiam; from John Veness, who went from Mountfield near Battle; from William Davis, who went from Robertsbridge; from Mary Veness, who went from Mountfield; from John Thorpe, who went from Sedlescomb; from John Harden, who went from Robertsbridge, and from Thomas Boots, who went from Robertsbridge. To these I shall add two letters since received by a gentleman at Rye, and I suppress not one single word of them. The *originals* will be deposited at Fleet Street, for one week after the publication of this book; and, when that week is passed, I shall return them to the parties from whom I have received them. I shall lodge them at Fleet Street, for the purpose of being inspected by any gentleman who may have the curiosity to do it; and I do it also to the honour of the parties who have written the letters. We read the other day (Morning Chronicle of the 24th of June) of the execution of *nine culprits at once* , in the happy colony of New South Wales; and read in the same paper that the governor, had, by proclamation, just increased the duties on tobacco and spirits, while, at the same time, part of the country was in a state of great alarm, on account of the existence of a " formidable "body of bush-rangers mounted on horseback, and well 44 "armed." If any man, not actually tired of his life, can prefer emigrating to a country like this to emigrating to the

United States, he is wholly unworthy of my attention. I have pointed out certain passages of the letters by *italics*, to which I request the reader's particular attention.

39. I begin with the letters from John Watson to his father Stephen Watson of Sedlescomb. This John Watson, it will be perceived, was carried to our sweet colony of New Brunswick; but he soon found that he could not live there: and it will be seen with what wondrous toil and perseverance he removed himself, his wife, and his children, first into Lower Canada, then into Upper Canada, and then into the United States. Let this man's progress be observed: see the English pauper become a good solid landowner in America, in the course of only five years; and then come to your decision. You will remark, that in the very first letter, John Watson tells his father, that he was discouraged from going to the United States; and that many had come from the States to New Brunswick! These lies had been stuffed into his head, as into the heads of thousands of others; but they all, if they be able, soon guit the miserable colonies, and get to the United States. I take the following extract from a newspaper, called The Enquirer, published at New York, in the month of June, 1827. "In one canal-boat "were EIGHTY SETTLERS, coming into the United "States from Canada. King George pays their passage, "and gives them a trifle for pocket-money; and the "moment they land at Quebec, without waiting to wash "a shirt, all the single able men cut and run for the "United States; and we have all the benefit of the "emigration." This Editor is mistaken: King George does not pay them for their passage, nor give them the 45 pocket-money; for King George pays no taxes. Thus, then, the United States send food for the colonies, for which we pay; we pay for sending out mouths to eat it; and the mouths which have arms and legs attached to them, go to swallow green peas in the place where they are raised.

No. 1.

Queensbury, New Brunswick, * Oct. 15, 1810.

* On the River St. John, in New Brunswick, about 130 miles from the Bay of Fundy.

Dear Father, —I arrived in St. John the 16th day of June, after a disagreeable passage. We were struck with lightning in a storm, in which we lost one of our sailors. When I came into the above place I saw no prospect of doing any thing there, and proceeded to Fredericton, and had many proposals made me there, but did not accept them. I am now situated 120 miles up the river St. John. The gentleman in whose employ I am, has built me a house in which I now live. I am to have it, and 10 or 12 acres of land, rent free, for three years. I expect to be able to maintain my family on this until I get land from Government. Every married man is entitled to 200 acres, and every single man 100. As to saying positively what labourers get, I could not; but they are paid according to what they can do. I got five pounds the first month and my diet. I must now tell you we are not pestered with revenue officers. We are a free people; free from rates and taxes. The following are the prices of provisions:—Flour, two pounds ten shillings per barrel, of 196 pounds weight; butter, from 1 s, 3 d. to 1 s. 6 d. per pound; mutton and beef, from 5 d. to 6 d. per pound; all wearing apparel are as dear again as in England. St. John river is a very fine river, so that brigs of any size can come from St. John to Fredericton. A man may catch as many fish in an hour as would do for him and his family for a day. Along the above river it is but thinly inhabited, and very few back settlements. There is plenty of land, but we want men to work it. You would really wonder to see so many 46 thousands of acres of woody land idle, and good land. I had every idea of going to the States, but the accounts were so discouraging that I would not go there. I assure you there are many coming from the States here. Tell my brothers that I have no doubt, after a while, they would do well here, but I would not advise them to come now, for they little know the difficulties they would have to undergo before they would get settled; but if they (or I) was once settled here, there would be no fear but they would do well. Tell William Turner and Samuel Turner, that if they could come here, and bring their sons, they could be settled, provided they had 601.; or they could get land (cleared) on the half part of what they could raise, and oxen to plough it. Tell William Glover that I can get a gentleman to send for him next spring, and to send me an answer if he is willing to come or not. My wife would be obliged to her brother if Apps would send or take a copy of this letter to her father. We are

well, thank God, and it is the sincere wish of your friend, that I may see you all here, but not until I hear something before you come.

And am, dear father, Yours truly affectionate, John Watson

N. B. Direct to Mr. John Hustis, Queensbury County, York, New Brunswick, British America. My wife would be obliged to you, when you write, to send word how all her friends are.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, County of Sussex, England.

No. 2.

Seneca,* County of Ontario, State of New York, August 13th, 1820.

* A town, of 4,802 inhabitants, about 200 miles from New York.

Dear Father, —We left Brunswick on the 8th last March. *The severity of the winter determined me to take this step.* We proceeded up the river St. John towards Quebec. On our way we encountered great difficulties, arising from the cold, and the country being almost an entire wilderness through which we passed. From Quebec we proceeded up the river St. Laurence to Montreal; from thence to Kingston, and up the lake to Niagara, where we crossed over *into the United Slates*, and travelled east into the State of New York, 100 miles, to the English settlement (as it is here called), where I now 47 live, but do not intend to remain here long; the land is all taken up, and too dear for a person in my circumstances to buy. The Ohio is my ultimate object; there land may be had in plenty for a dollar and a quarter, or 5 s. 6 d. sterling, per acre. I arrived here about the *middle of June*, and have been, for the principal part of the time since, in the employ of a Mr. Watson, an Englishman, from Northumberland, of whom *I bought a cow*, for which *I paid him in work, besides supporting my family*. An honest, industrious man can maintain his family better by three days' work here, than he can in England by six. It is the universal

custom here for the employer to find the person employed in victuals. Grain is very low at present; wheat may be bought for 1 s. 6 d. sterling money, per bushel; and the other kinds of grain proportionally low. Butcher's meat, of all kinds, is exceedingly cheap; every farmer here has an orchard, in which the apples and peaches hang almost as thick as your hops. Clothing is about the same here as in England. Money is scarce at present, owing to there being no demand abroad for grain, but every thing else is in the utmost profusion; and I look forward, with a confident and well-founded hope, to the time, as not far distant, when I shall be a freeholder, and call no man by the degrading name of master. This, you will possibly say, is all idle rant; but no, I am acquainted with many here who came to this country poor and pennyless, who now possess fine freeholds of from 100 to 300 acres, fine houses, barns and orchards, thriving flocks of cattle, sheep, &c. What others have done why may not I accomplish? This is, in truth, the land of hope. Labour is a pleasurable exertion, because all its profits go to enrich yourself and not another. As your letters to me may possibly not arrive before I depart to the Ohio, direct them to Robert Watson, to be, by him, forwarded to me.

Your dutiful son, John Watson.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, County of Sussex, Old England.

No. 3.

Aurora,* Dearborn County, Indiana State, June 15th, 1822.

* Population 549.

Dear Father, —Recollecting my promise to you, not to write till I was perfectly settled, you would not expect a letter so soon as you 48 might otherwise have done. I now consider myself as so settled; and, though I have, some time ago, written a letter to you, yet it may have miscarried; and I not only think it right that you should be acquainted with my situation, but I wish that you, with all our family and friends, could be with us. We have

suffered many hardships, as the statement of our journey will show you; but they were occasioned by my being a stranger to the country. You will recollect that I started, with my wife and our children, in the brig Wellington, for St. John's, New Brunswick, where we arrived *June* 15 th, 1819, after losing one of our mates, by lightning, and one seaman; there we remained till March 15th, 1820. New Brunswick, the winter too severe to profit much by farming, I determined to leave it, at all hazards; I, therefore, with my wife, got a hand-sleigh, in which I placed the children, and drew them on the ice up the St. John's river, about 360 miles, Mary and myself walking, drawing the children after us. You must also recollect that 100 miles of this was not settled, being all wood. We arrived at the head of St. John's river. We travelled on in the same manner, across snow and ice, to the great river St. Laurence, about 180 miles below Quebec; there we found the country, along the bank, thickly settled. I then built myself a light waggon, and had all our family provisioned during the time of making the waggon for "I thank you:" the good people, who were French Canadians, wishing us very much to stay with them. In this waggon our children were drawn by myself for upwards of 400 miles, to Kingston, at the mouth of the lake Ontario. There (as every other place, we met with uncommon kindness) a gentleman, quite a stranger, not only sent us by the steam-boat, free of all expense, to Fort George, but put six or seven dollars in our pockets besides. From Fort George we crossed into the United States, and passed the summer at Geneva, Ontario County, New York State. Hearing a more favourable account of the State of Indiana, I once more started on a ramble, and, travelling across the State of New York, I came to O'Lean Point, on the Alleghany river; which river, a very rapid one, I came down in a flat boat to Pittsburgh; here I staid two days, and, passing on, after being detained by head winds, and the water being very low, landed at Aurora, situated at the mouth of Hogan Creek. Here I found myself a stranger, without friends, acquaintance, utensils of any kind, or money, having spent our last dollar a day or two before; 49 added to which, myself and all our family were caught by illness for six or eight weeks, without the power of doing any thing. But no sooner was our situation known, than we had plenty of provisions brought to us, and, as our strength recovered, I obtained work at digging, &c. My wife took in sewing, and, by degrees, we

have worked it to that I have 2 cows, 2 calves, 9 pigs, and 1 calf expected in August. James is now at school, and I intend to send two in the winter. I have joined with a farmer in cropping: that is, I received one-half of the produce, and had the team found me. I now am working for an English gentleman, named Harris, who is building in Aurora, and owns four quarter sections up the Creek. Much good land can be bought, far distant, for one dollar and a quarter per acre, and improved land for not much more: indeed, so good is the prospect for a man who must live by industry, that I wish all my friends and acquaintance were here with me. I can safely say, I would not, nor would my Mary, return to England on any account whatever. We are now all in good health, and are very desirous of hearing from you. Direct to John Watson, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana State, United States. I wish you would also be very particular not to put the letter into the post-office, as it will be so long in coming; but put it into the letter-bag of some ship bound to New York or Philadelphia. In the earnest desire of hearing from you,

I remain yours, John Watson

The best port for you to come to would be Philadelphia or Baltimore.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Parish of Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Old England.

No. 4.

Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana, April 26th, 1823.

Dear Father and Mother, —I now write with greater pleasure than I have ever yet done, as it is in answer to yours, dated February the 2nd, the only one I have received; the others, I suppose, must have gone to Canada, where you might think I was settled. It proved very gratifying to us to hear that you all enjoy such general good health, excepting father Vaughan and sister, who could not have been expected to remain long, having been ill so long. Though your letter was written by several persons, we cannot answer them separately, C 50 but must beg of you to read all to them. You should have mentioned who

my brother James married; we suppose it must be Henry Freeland's sister. We would recommend all our acquaintances, who are tired of paying tithes and taxes, to come here. where taxes are unknown, and taxes hardly worth mentioning, compared to what they are with you. The only tax we have paid is 1 day's work on the road, and 50 cents, or 2 s. 3 d. for one yoke of oxen. You say England is in a very bad state, and farmers are got very low. We would say, let them come here: we were worth nothing when we landed at this place, and now we have 1 yoke of oxen, 1 cow, 9 hogs, and we intend having another cow. We are not much concerned about Michaelmas and Lady-Day here, for as many farms as we choose, we could have for paying one-third of the produce. We have just taken 10 acres upon these terms, and John is busily engaged in ploughing for corn; he wishes his uncle Edward was with him to help. Brother Stephen inquires if he could get employment; we answer, that any person desirous of obtaining a living may do its and that easily: if he comes, let him bring all the money he can, and what clothing he has; but not to spend any money in buying unnecessary things in England; here the money will pay him much better than there in land. Rabbits and pigeons, particularly the latter, are very abundant; and squirrels, which are very fine eating. There are also great plenty of fish in the river for those who take the trouble to catch them. Partridges are also very numerous, and wild turkeys. We bought 1 for 25 cents, or 1s. 1½ d. of your money, which lasted us for 4 meals. Meat we buy for 2 cents per pound. John often talks of his grandmother, and says we could keep her without working. Whilst this letter is writing my wife is eating preserved peaches and bread, and washing them down with good whiskey and water. When our last letter was written, I mentioned I was working for Mr. Harris, an English gentleman; I am still working for him, and, probably, shall do for some time. You express a wish to know all our children; John, born April 22nd, 1809; James, October 18th, 1813; Naomi, February 7th, 1815; Henry, April 11th, 1818; Eliza Anne, born January 21st, 1821, in Langley township, on Hogan Creek, Dearborn County, Indiana. Henry is very well, generally in mischief, like all other children, and received a kiss, as did all the others, from sister. All our friends who come we would recommend to come in an American ship, and land either at Baltimore or Philadelphia; but we should advise them to start 51 immediately after landing from the

western States, as they afford a better prospect for poor people, or indeed any other, than the eastern or older States. Among many other advantages we enjoy in this country, we can make *our own soap, candles*, and *sugars;* which we make by tapping the maple tree, in the breaking of the frost, and boiling the water down, clearing it with eggs or milk. We wish very much to see brother William and Stephen; if they come they cannot be in a worse situation than we were when we landed, and for many months after: but then their prospects would be better than by remaining in England. Our brother William, sister Sarah, and our dear mother, must not be hurt if we did not mention them in our last letter; it was not an intentional neglect, for our affections for them are as strong as ever, and very often do we wish they were here; for we think it would be much better for them, as well as William Glover, of whom we wish to hear,—nothing being said of him in your letter. Mary begs you will be particular in mentioning her relations in your next letter, which you must not be angry if we ask to be written closer, so as to contain more information, as the postage of letters is rather expensive; not that we grudge the money, but we think the sheet might be made to hold more.

And now, our dear Father and Mother, as it is not very likely that we shall meet on this side the grave, may it be our fervent prayer, that in the life to come, where there shall be no alloy, no griefs or difficulties, we may all unite; and there may you, with all the blessed, salute your ever dutiful and affectionate children,

John and Mary Watson.

P.S. If Stephen comes, we wish him to bring some rye-grass, trefoil, *broom seed*, cabbage seeds, and all garden seeds. Be sure if he does come, or any others of our friends, to let us know as soon as possible. Mary has just made a *bushel of soap*, which cost me nothing but her attention and a little labour. *Those animals called* in your *country Excisemen*, are not known in this country, so that we boil soap, make candles, gather hops, and many other things, without fear, which *you must not do.* We are under no fear *about our children not having food:* we have *finer pork* and *fowls than you have, and plenty*

of them. Fowls are sold from 2 s. 3 d. to 3 s. 4½ d. per dozen; pork at 1 d.per l b., eggs 1½ d. for six dozen.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sen., Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Old England.

Per first packet from New York to Liverpool. Paid to New York. C 2

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No. 5

Aurora, March 9th, 1825.

Dear Father and Mother, —It is now 2 years since we heard from you, excepting in a letter from brother Stephen, saying you were all well. We are longing to hear what you are all doing; the particulars of all the family: when you sent the letter, you did not say any thing about William and Sarah, neither who James and Ann was married to. I want to know what is become of William Glover, and whether he loves drink as well as he used to do; if he does, tell him there is plenty of whiskey here; if a man wants to kill himself, he need not be long about it, for he may get a gallon a day and his board; but I hope better things of him; I hope he has seen into the folly of it before this. We should be very glad to hear from all our friends: we think they would do a great deal better here than in England; we cannot think what makes so many of them go back, for we would not come back again for Mr. Tidden Smith's farm and all he has got. The poor home-sick things! were it not for their poor children, we would not care if they went to bed without supper all their lives! As for brother Stephen, we should like to know if he is gone back too; for we expected him this last winter, but have been disappointed; we are rather uneasy at not receiving a letter before this; if you know any thing about him, we should be glad if you would let us know. We are still farming, have got this season about 10 acres of very promising wheat, 7 acres of oats, 13 acres of corn, 1 acre for flax, between 1 and 2 acres for potatoes and other garden stuff. We have got a horse, a yoke of oxen, a pair of young steers, a milch cow, and plenty of pigs and fowls. There are plenty of English people in and around our

neighbourhood: we rent land of an English woman (true enough, for *I* have written this letter). We feel ourselves at home among the people: we have regular preaching by the Methodists and Baptists, *but no parson to tithe us*. We make our own soap and candles; we have just got *between* 40 *and* 50 *yards of linen from the loom from our last year's flax*. Land is 1½ per acre, Congress price; but land near the Ohio is chiefly taken up, and higher priced. We live a mile from the river. Aurora is on the bank of the Ohio, so of course we are the same distance from it. We have another little daughter, named Sarah Joana; she was born on the 29th of February, 1824; the other children are all well; John is grown very much lately; he is almost like a man; he has just been 53 out a month, and earned himself a summer's suit of clothes, though he is employed at home on the farm. I let him have his wish; he sends his best respects to his grandmother. There is plenty of walnuts, hickory nuts, wild grapes, plums, &c. in the woods; peaches grow in great abundance; the trees bear in three years from the stone. Apples, melons, pumpkins, and a variety of other fruits, are very easily raised. Write soon, and direct to John Watson, Aurora, Dearborn County, Indiana.

From your affectionate, son and daughter, John and Mary Watson.

P.S. We should be very happy to see you; but as we do not expect to see you this side of Eternity, we beseech you to prepare for the awful day, when we must all give account of the deeds done in the body, it is the one thing needful: do not put it off till it is too late, but fly to the arms of a bleeding Redeemer, who is willing to save you.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, Battle.

No. 6.

Dearborn County, Indiana, November 29th, 1828.

Dear Father and Mother, —We gladly embrace this opportunity of writing to you, to say that we are all enjoying good health at present, and we sincerely hope that, at the perusal

of these few lines, you will be the same. We received your letter November 8th, which gave us great satisfaction that you are well, and we are glad to hear that some of you intend coming to America: and we greatly desire that you would all come to this rich fertile country; for we assure you that there is sufficient room for you all in this Palestine land; though we do not believe every part of America so good as where we live, and especially the part of America where brother Stephen lives; for we know, by experience, that it is not half so good a country for a poor man to get a living as where we are, though they are well satisfied where they live, and we believe their country far better than Old England. Yet we know that their country is not half so good a part of America as where we live. But they know no better, for they have not travelled through America to see the difference. But it is not so with us; for we travelled 2000 or 54 3000 miles through America before we settled ourselves; therefore we are better judges than they can be. Here you can rent land by giving one third of what is raised on the land; and a man can get 18 pounds of pork or beef for a day's work, or 3 pecks of wheat, and every other kind of provision cheap accordingly. Men who labour by the day get the above articles, and are boarded in time of doing the work. We are highly gratified to think of father and mother coming, and more so shall we be if you all will come. We advise you to come to New York, and up the river to Albany, where Stephen lives. There you can get information of the road to my house; but if so be that you are willing to come to us without coming by Stephen, we think it much the best for you to land at Baltimore, and come from there to Pittsburgh, on the Ohio river, where you can get a passage in the steam-boat, for a very few dollars, to Aurora, within five miles of my house. It would be a great deal cheaper and nigher from Baltimore or Philadelphia than Albany, from either of the three ports. You must inquire for Pittsburgh, on the Ohio river. We want you to fetch with you early-york, sugar-loaf, curtle, savoy, and red cabbage seeds; and trefoil, lucerne, and a little broom seed; and we wish you to tell James Bridges to come to America if he can, for we know that he can get a comfortable living with half the labour he has to do at home. Plenty of land can be bought within 20 miles of our house for one dollar and a quarter per acre. We advise you to come in an American ship; and, finally, we think it too tedious to mention all the good things in America, but invite you

to come and see for yourselves. So no more at present from your affectionate son and daughter, John and Mary Watson.

No. 7.

Albany,† October 5th, 1823.

† A city in the state of New York, on the banks of the Hudson, 144 miles from New York, with a population of 12,630 people.

Dear Father and Mother, —This comes with our kind love to you, and all brothers and sisters, and all friends, hoping to find you all in good health; for all our children have been ill with their insides with fresh food: and we are got to Albany safe. We was about 7 55 weeks on passage to New York. We stopped at New York a week, and then sailed to Albany, which is 165 miles; and we was sea-sick about 16 days: and I went up to Utica, which is 96 miles, and I could not find the country any better up there than at Albany; so I returned back to my family again. And a gentleman has took Jane, and he is to keep and clothe and to send her to school; and Thomas, Mr. William Fisher has taken. And John Gardiner has found his brothers; and James Gardiner is moved from where he was at first; and we see Richard Cutney at New York, and he was very well, and he talked of coming to England again, and to send a particular account of what Thomas Rolfe said when he got back to England. But not to make yourselves any ways uneasy about us ne'er the more for his coming back; for if we can't get a living, here is a poor-house just the same as in England; and they will keep us till the spring, and then send us back to England: for there is thousands of Irish here. And if I can't support my family, I shall come back in the spring; for if a man can't support his family, they will send him back in the spring to England again: for I had not got half money enough to get up to my brother; so I wrote to him, and I have not had any answer as yet; but when I got an answer I will send to you again; and I can't give you any good account about coming as yet, for there is so many Irish keep coming every day, and they work so cheap, that it makes it bad for labouring people; and we

live neighbours with James Fisher and Richard Fuller from Bodiam. And the ways of the people and the country is very different from what they are in England; and the land is not half so good; for when they clear land, as they call it, they chop the wood off about 2 feet from the ground, and then plough and sow between the stubs: and it is most the Indian corn in this part of the country. William is at work filling waggons with the stuff that comes out of the canal. I have 4 dollars per week. A dollar is 8 shillings of New York State money. People work very hard here; for they work from sun-rising to sun-set; cattle the same. And beef is from 2 cents to 4 cents per pound; and there is a hundred cents in a dollar. But the meat is not so fat as it is in England. Tobacco is from 1 s. to 2 s. per pound; and clothing is about as it is in England: and shoes are about the same, but the leather is not so good. No nails, only sparrow bills about. Here, in summer, half the people go without shoes, stockings, and caps. And there is plenty of apples; you may buy them from 1 s. 8 cents to 3 s. per bushel of this money, and peaches very cheap. And tell my 56 father and Henry Osborn I have not seen a Yohoo as yet; but if I come home in the spring I will bring them home some tobacco; and tell my mother I will bring her some tea: for we can get it for 2 s. per pound this money. And we desire you to remember our loves to Levi Crouch and his wife; and Stephen and Elizabeth give their love to Elizabeth's dear mother: and if we can't get a comfortable living here, we shall see her again in the spring. But Elizabeth likes this country very well as yet: and I should be glad if Edward would take this letter to Rye to Elizabeth's mother as soon as possible, and for them to send us an answer about all things as soon as they can. And we have got two young shuts to live upon this winter: and to tell George Nokes to make himself contented where he is till I can give a more particular account of the country, for if I can get a comfortable living here I will send him word, and if not I shall come home in the spring. And tell Charles Jepson I drank tea with his sister in New York, and she is very well. And please to give our best respects to Mrs. Smith, and tell her we got over pretty well. So no more at present from

Your dutiful son and daughter, S. Watson. Stephen and Elizabeth Watson.

Direct to me to be left at Thomas Selby's, South Market Street, No. 535, Albany, State of New York.

For Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Old England.

No. 8.

Albany, October 27, 1823.

Dear Mother, —I would have wrote before this, but could not write you pleasant news, as Stephen has been *so unhappy* in a strange country, but is now contented and doing well. He earns 8 s. a day and his board.

We meet with many friends. We have been fortunate in *getting good places for our* children. Jane is with a Quaker gentleman in Connecticut, who has taken her as his own: he will send her to school all winter. We were all sick for 16 days. We were rejoiced to see land once more. We met with many friends on board the vessel. Stephen received many presents from them. We had plenty provision, and sold a good deal when we landed. Jane was in the cabin all the way over: she waited on the ladies; they gave her 4 dollars for her services. It is impossible for us to get to brother 57 John, as he is 1,400 miles from Albany: it would be very expensive, as we can do better here. I wish you to get Stephen's mother to write, and let me know if you received my letter. You may tell George Noakes we will write to him soon, and tell him all the particulars. If you please you may send this letter to Stephen's mother, and this will answer for both. Naomi is gone to live with Mr. Moulton at Utica, and likes the place well. James is going to the same place. Stephen is sorry that he did not bring you along: you could do much better here: for washing 4 s. a day, and other work accordingly. I never was so happy in all my life as I am now. I never wish to go back to England. Do not grieve for me: if we never meet in this world, we will meet in the world to come, to part no more. Look to the Lord for comfort, is the wish of your affectionate daughter, Mary Green. Elizabeth Watson.

N. B. Stephen saws with Richard Fuller. We live in the house with them. We have a good house. I have a good oven, and all things convenient. I would be glad to hear from you all as soon as possible. *The law is the same here for the poor as there.* I must conclude with my love to all.

Mary Green. Elizabeth Watson.

Direct to me at Mr.Thomas Selby's, South Market Street, No. 535, Albany State, New York.

No. 9.

Albany, March 29, 1824. Honoured Father and Mother, —We received your letter on the 23rd instant, and are happy to hear you are all in good health, as it leaves us. I have to inform you that I have had a good winter's work at sawing, and have no reason to complain of America. I don't wish to persuade any person to come to this country, but I am doing better here than I was in England. A man by industry can get a good living here. I was soon discouraged when I first came over; but now I am more used to the ways and customs of the people, I like it better. My wife likes the country much. My family are all in good health. Jane likes her place very much: she lives with Captain Champlin, who sends her to school to learn to read and write: she wrote a letter some time ago, which was written quite well for her. Thomas and Naomi are both living with a Mr. Moulton; and Naomi says she does not want to come home again. You must C 5 58 not be in any trouble about me, nor mind what Mr. Rolfe says about it, for he did not stay to try the place; he did not do any work while he was here. He was offered 8 guineas, or 21 dollars, for 3 weeks' work, to dry hops, but was afraid he should not be paid; but the man who did do it got his pay, for I have seen him since. I make no doubt if George Noakes comes, he can get a living for his family. I desire to be remembered to Robert, Edward, and Samuel Fisher: tell them their brothers and sisters are all well. We both desire to be remembered to my wife's mother. I have had one letter from my brother, and he wishes me to come

up to him; but as I am doing so well, I think of staying here at present. Give our loves to all our brothers and sisters; and ask William if he thinks there is any salt in America. If you was here I could get you a quart of gin for a shilling. Betty says if old Stephen was here he should have one good drunken frolic. I have seen a good many old acquaintance in Albany. Henry Soan and his wife are now at my house. There are so many English people here that it seems much like home. We don't begrudge any one the pleasure we left behind us, for we are a good deal better off. The laws of this country are as good as in England. The poor are well taken care of: there is a large house in this place for the accommodation of the old and infirm that are not able to work. We can get our children educated better than we could at your place. The free school here is on the Lancastrian system: it has 400 scholars, both rich and poor, who pay according to their abilities; some pay one dollar a quarter, and some not more than a shilling sterling: the scholars are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, &c. &c.

We remain, Your dutiful children, Stephen and Elizabeth Watson.

To Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Great Britain.

No. 10.

Albany, October 27, 1825.

My Dear Grandparents, —Partly in compliance with your request to know about America, and partly for my paternal solicitude for you, I again resume the pen. We are all well in health, and we hope you are enjoying the same blessing. It would be very agreeable for me to see my English friends, but I don't wish to return to England again. I like America much the best: it is a very plentiful country. A person 59 may get a very good living here if they are industrious. My father is doing very well, and is very well satisfied to stay in this country. He has got a cow of his own, and nine hogs. My mother has been lately confined of a daughter; she is very hearty: her name is Sarah Anne. Little Myram is a very pretty child; we think very much of her: I think she is indulged too much in having her own

way. Thomas and Naomi are living out. Thomas is living in the country with Mr. Fisher. I have spent two years out to the eastward with the captain I came over with. I took much comfort and consolation with them in the two years. But now I am returned home to my parents. I like living in Albany better than I did to the east. I have been very fortunate. I have got good clothes, and I can dress as well as any lady in Sedlescomb. I can enjoy a silk and white frock, and crape frock and crape veil, and Morocco shoes, without a parish grumbling about it. If you are not dressed well here, you are not respected. The girls here that go out to doing house-work, dres as well as any lady in Sedlescomb. I don t think of going to meeting with leather shoes on; we wear Morocco and prunella. Altogether Leghorn hats are worn here very much. Straw bonnets are very fine and handsome; I have got one cost about twenty-four shillings. I had a present of a very handsome, long, kerseymere shawl, by Captain Champlin; he brought it me from London: it cost about fortyeight shillings. You cannot tell the poor from the rich here; they are dressed as good as the other. You can get things just as well as you can in England. We have wrote to uncle John, but received no answer. Father wants you to write us word whether he has written to you since you received our letter. We want uncle William to come over to America very much; and if he comes, to bring some ferrets with him, for they have none here. If you come on board a ship that has got cabin passengers in it, you can get plenty of fresh meat for them. Dear uncle, you must be sure and come, and bring all your working tools with you. I was surprised to hear of my uncle Edward's marriage; but I hope he has got a good wife, and I wish them both well, and a happy journey through life. Give my love to all my uncles and aunts and cousins, and all inquiring friends. I think my young acquaintance have forgotten me: I never hear any thing about them in your letters. Tell them I think about them very often. Give my love to Harriet Crouch, and send me word whether she is married yet: tell her I want to know. Give my respects to 60 my beloved grandmother in Rye, with much affection. Brogil sends his love to her; he says he can remember her mother. And father wishes to be remembered to her, as their beloved mother. Mother says she wishes she had brought her with us; she has thought more about her since we have been in America, than ever she did in her life before. Have not found many trials in coming to America. Don't

be discouraged now, because some come back. Don't do as Mr. Rolfe did, step on shore, and before you know any thing about the place, go right back again. Any respectable person may get a good living by industry. It is a good place for young people; they can get good wages for their work. Naomi gets 18 s. a month, and I get 24 s. I was loth to leave my English friends, but thank God we are all much better situated here. It was the best thing that ever father did for his family to take them to America. Tell aunt and uncle William they must not be discouraged about coming, but be sure and come if the parish will send them. We don't live but a very little way off from New York. It is a very pleasant sail up to Albany: there are many pretty places going up the river too. Albany is about as large as Rye. There are many English people here: the Fishers and Fullers, that come from Ewhurst. James Gardiner has lately got a child. William and John came down from Utica in the stage-coach to our house, and drank tea with us, very well clothed, and plenty of money, and very well satisfied in America. They have plenty of employment. They did not leave any word in particular to send to England. John said he wanted to write home, but did not like to get any one to write it: he was going to tell me what to send in my letter, but he went away in a hurry, and had not time. We expect them back to see us this winter. The people here are very good about education, much more so than they are in England. Mother and father wishes to be remembered to you, dear grandmother and grandfather, and to all other friends. I hope you will not be offended at my writing to you so soon. We hope you will write to us as soon as you get this letter, and send word whether uncle is a coming or not. I was sorry to hear the parish said they would not send any more. Father has had a very good summer's work a sawing. He is now at work in the malt-house for this winter. We have got a very good house to live in, and well furnished; better than we had in England. Please to excuse this writing, as I am a new beginner. It is a great pleasure for me to write to you; for the anticipation 61 of ever seeing you again is totally relinquished from my mind. I have nothing more at present to say to you in particular. Adieu, adieu.

I am, with particular respect, Dear Grandparents, Your very affectionate granddaughter, Mary Jane Watson.

To Absent Friends:—

When in scenes of distant joy You move with footsteps free, Soft to your heart this gentle stream Shall say, remember me. Mary Jane Watson.

Stephen and Sarah Watson, Footland.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Old England.

No. 11.

Albany, April 11, 1826.

My Dear Grandmother, —We received your letter on the 10th of April, and was very glad to hear from you. We are all well in health, and hope this will find you enjoying the same blessing. We received a letter from uncle John on the 7th of this month, requesting us to write immediately, to you to tell you not to write to him till he writes to you; for he has gone from Aurora to Mississippi, and thinks of settling on the Mississippi river. He stated as follows in his letter:—

"Dear Brother,—We wish you to write to England immediately, and let father and mother know that we received their letter, dated July, in the beginning of this month: it must have laid a long while in the post-office. They wanted to know particularly about Morgan. Tell them we have never heard nor seen any thing of him since we parted in York State. Tell William we are astonished at him doubting the truths of our letters: we can assure him the letters don't get altered before they reach him. America is as good as we have stated before; and he would find it so if he had heart enough to come. When he has, he can easily get victuals to eat: we have no lack of good food. They may have a good opportunity of knowing all about us this next summer, as one of our neighbours is going to England on business: it is the same person we rented land of these last two years. She is a widow, and knows all our affairs: you may depend on her honesty; she can tell you pretty

much as if we was 62 there ourselves. She does not expect to be there before July or August: she will write to father when she gets there; and if he will take the trouble to go to Yorkshire, he will have good entertainment free of expense, except coach fare. We should be uncommonly glad if father could spare money enough to go." This ends the copy of uncle John's letter.

Tell aunt Gardiner. John was down to Albany about two weeks ago, from Utica, He said James had been very sick, near two months, but was got better, and able to work. William is down the canal to work, a sawing. John is gone down again this spring: he came up to Albany the beginning of January. James has got a good place, at 100 dollars a year, and his house-rent and fire-wood found him, and as much cider as he wants to drink, and he is doing very well. James has drinked very much since he has been in this country. John and William have been very sober and industrious, and a great help to James, both in sickness and in health. Tell aunt she need not be in any trouble about her sons, for they are doing very well. Tell her she would not know John if she was to see him; for he is altered both in speech, looks, and dress: he is very polite. Dorcas has got five children, the oldest girl is living out. I will write to James as soon as I can. John left directions where to write to James, but we have lost it: they live in Henkimen village, this side of Utica. Mrs. Hannah wishes grandmother would go to Mr. Fuller's, and tell them she thinks it very strange she don't hear from them. She has not had a letter for this two years. They are very well, and doing well. Give my love to Thomas and grandmother, at Rye, and ask her if she will come over here if I come over for her. I was very glad to hear that she was doing pretty well. If I could only see her once more, I would give all that I have in possession. Father and mother sends their kind love to grandmother, at Rye, and they wish they had brought her with them. Mother hopes you will look to grandmother, for she has nobody to take care of her. Mother and father send their kind love to you and grandfather, and aunt and uncle Lawrence: tell them we wish they was here. Our love to aunt and uncle Freeland; tell them, —will not promise them,—I think if I can get a chance with the captain I came over with, I shall come back to England to visit them all in a year or two. Mother and father wished to

be remembered to all their sisters and brother, and to Mrs. Crouch and Mrs. Bryant. Give my love to Harriott Parks, and tell her I should like to see her and her son. Aunt Mary has sent a letter to 63 her brother John, and has received no answer. I told you in the last letter that Albany was about as large as Rye; but they tell me it is three times as large, and very pleasant. Father says he has no reason to complain of America all the time he can get as good living as he gets now, for he is happier than ever he was in his life. He has been sawing all winter with Mr. Fuller; they have as much as they can do. He said he never will leave Albany while lie can do as well as he does now. Father said you said if he came to America he could not get back again; but we could come back very well. Father wishes to be remembered to all inquiring friends, but cannot mention every one's name. I have no more at present; so remember me to be your

Affectionate grand-daughter, Mary Jane Watson.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, Great Britain.

No. 12.

Albany, December 27th, 1827.

My Dear Grandmother, —It is a very snowy unpleasant day. I took a walk up to mother, and retired to write to you a few lines, which is a pleasure to me, and expect it will be pleasing to you. I was married on the 13th of November last, to a man in good circumstances; and I am very comfortably situated. We neglected writing, because we expected a letter from uncle John. We have received a letter from him; as I will give you a copy on the remainder of this sheet. We are enjoying a very good state of health, and hope this will find you enjoying the same blessing. Thomas, Naomi, and Eleanor, send their love to you, and would be very glad to see you. Uncle John wants us to go up to Indiana, but mother is not willing: she has got acquaintance here: and says she will stay here. Father and mother send their love and lasting affection to you, and would be very happy to see you; but fear they will not this side of the grave. But I hope you may all be

prepared for to meet in a better world. James Parks and his wife Harriot Grove arrived in Albany a little before I was married; they saw me married. They lived with mother a little while; and now they are moved over the river, in a place called Greenbush, about two miles from us, where they can have a good winter's work; they have got things comfortable in their house to use, and both seem contented, *My dear Grandmother! Oh that I could see you once more.* We often regret that we did not 64 bring you along with us: we did not know what we should come to. *I have not forgot your past kindness to me.* I must conclude with wishing you well, and all our kind loves to you and inquiring friends. Farewell. Adieu.

From your affectionate and ever grateful grandchild, Mary Jane Coulson.

To Grandmother at Rye:—

When in scenes of distant joy You rove with footsteps free, Soft to your heart this gentle stream Shall say, remember me. Jane Coulson.

To Footland. Stephen and Elizabeth Watson.

My Esteemed Grandparents, —I will send you the particulars of uncle John's letter, hoping it will find you enjoying a good state of health and peace of mind. He writes to father as follows:—

"State of Indiana, Dearborn County, October 12, 1827.

"We gladly embrace this opportunity of informing you, that we are all well at present; and it is our sincere prayers, that at the perusal of these few lines you and yours may be found enjoying the same blessing. Dear brother and sister, remember in your last letter we was going to move down the river: we also did move as low as the falls of Ohio, where we continued one year and six months; in which time we, by our industry and good economy, earned two hundred and twenty dollars, beside maintaining our family. And not being satisfied with the country, about the falls, we removed from thence to Aurora last August,

where we formerly lived; and have now purchased a tract of land, 75 acres, a comfortable dwelling-house, and a very good orchard of apples and peaches; where I expect to settle. "I must conclude: paper spoils me. I cannot give you so long a copy as should wish, but I have no more room to write. Father and mother send their love to you and all my uncles and aunts. I conclude with my love to you. I hope you will answer this letter immediately, and send us word how you are. Give grandmother at Rye this letter if you please.

I am your affectionate Jane Coulson.

Mr. Stephen Watson, Sedlescomb, near Battle, Sussex, England. *

* This is an enclosure.

65

No. 13.

New York, December 8th, 1827.

Dear Father, —This comes with our kind love to you, hoping to find you all in good health, as it leaves us in good health, except one of my thumbs and one finger, which is so bad that I cannot hold my pen; it is with difficulty that I can write, but I shall make it plain enough for you to understand it. I hurt my hand with a large piece of timber: this is the first day I have been unable to work with it; but to-morrow is Sunday. I think I shall be able to work on Monday. I am learning the carpentering trade. I have 5 s. per day. (N. B. you reckon all our New York shillings equal to an English 6 d.) Journeymen's wages are about 12 s. per day; some that take their work in lots earn 16 s. per day. You would be surprised to see provisions so cheap; we buy the best of meat for 4 d. per pound, which is not more than 2 d. English money. The labouring people live by the best of provisions; there is no such thing as a poor industrious man in New York: we live more on the best of every thing here, because we have it so very cheap. I must now give some account of our voyage. We had a long voyage, wind very much against us; and we were all sea-sick about one

week. James and his two children was very dangerously ill, and our Lois with the bowel complaint. Lois died: all the rest got pretty well before we got here. Hester Lois died 28th September, and was buried the same evening: it was a very fine day, and a dead calm; nothing else particular, but rather short of provisions till we got here on the 2nd November. One of Martha's children was ill before we got here, and both the others since; but we are all better: they live Brooklyn, about half a mile from the city of New York, across the water, in the same place that John Eldridge and Offins live. Philip is apprentice to a tin-worker in the city; Henry is apprentice to a hatter, about 30 miles from New York; Joseph is gone with James to Albany; Josiah has got a place as hostler about seven miles from the city; I live at 295, Hudson Street, not more than five or six rods from Mr. Selmes; they are great friends to us: we borrow anything that we want to use of them. Mr. Selmes is getting a good living, keeping cows and selling milk. He has been a friend to me; he offered me money if I wanted; he got me a house to live, a place to work, and some to start. I have took some wages and paid him; and I shall get a very good living, and learn my trade. Mr. Neve is living about a half a mile from us, and doing well. We have seen 66 Mrs. Milgate that was Mercy Clark; she sends her love to you, and hopes you will see her father before you come, if you think of coming in the spring. If you come you must bring plenty of flour to sea; and not let Mr. Beck buy a parcel of salt beef three years old, as he did for us, and sea-biscuits not fit for hogs to eat. You will want beef that is just salted, and a good ham of bacon. Do not buy any clothes or any thing else, but bring your money and buy things here. I am sure no person can gain a farthing by buying things in England and bringing them to America. I am sure you will be surprised to see such a quantity of every thing. You would like the spirit of liberty that the people of this country possess; here are some of the best laws in this country of any country in the world; every man here thinks himself as much as the greatest man in the State of New York. Workmen here are not afraid of their masters; they all seem as equals. Mr. Selmes sends his best respects to you, and would be very glad to see you. You must excuse my bad writing, for I cannot mend my pen till my hand gets well. So no more from your undutiful son and daughter,

John and Hester Parks.

Tell Charles to come if lie possibly can in the spring. I cannot say bow times are in the country; I have not been there.

To Mr. James Parks, Elhurst, near Northiam, Sussex County, England.

No. 14.

Greenbush,* March 16th, 1828.

* The population at Greenbush is 2,754.

Dear Father, —It is with the greatest degree of pleasure that I take my pen in hand to tell that we are all in good health, in a fine country, where I have plenty of work at my trade, and well paid for doing it. The cause I did not write to you before was, I wanted to see the ways of the country a little first; and as I wrote to Harriot's father, I thought you knew we were got here safe; also I expected some of the rest had wrote to you. I have had two letters from them, but they did not say whether they had wrote to you. Stephen Turner, John, Joseph, Henry, Philip, I believe are all where they was when I wrote before. Josiah has left his place at the tavern, and lives in New York; and works at lime-burning, and is doing pretty well. I have left Albany; I live across the river Hudson from Albany at a place called Greenbush. Greenbush is a village about like Burwash town. Albany is a very elegant city, stands on a rising ground on the banks of the Hudson 67 river; is a surprising place for trade. There commences the greatest canal I suppose that this world produces, which goes above 300 miles into the western country, and was all dug by hand. Before this was dug, great many farmers had to carry their corn and grain 2 and 300 miles to market with waggons; but now they can bring it into the canal, and then it goes to market for a trifle, by the canal-boats. The Hudson river is most beautiful; every little way there is little islands in it, some 10, some 20, some 40, 50 and 100 acres in an island; all cultivated, and houses on them: there's about 20 steam-boats up and down it, and three or four times as

many sloops. We have had the mildest winter so far that was ever known, though some very cold weather. I believe America is the finest part of the world any man can get into: here's no complaining we can't get a living; and it's a very foolish notion in England that the Americans don't live so well as the English. Tell Thomas Avann. to come to America; and tell him to leave his strap (what he wears when he has nothing to eat in England), for some other half-starved slave. Tell Miriam there's no sending children to bed without a supper, or husbands to work without dinners in their bags, in this country. See if you can't make Americanites of the Wimbletott Company. Thank God I am not old ***. nor vet ****'s slave: is is an erroneous notion of you English, that if a man cannot through any misfortune maintain his family, that they may starve;—it's an abominable lie. We have poor-laws and poor-taxes: the tax in this town (for this country is divided into townships instead of parishes) amounts to about 30 or 40 dollars per year for the whole town, and there's more people than at Ewhurst. † We have no gypsies, swing-kettles, pikies, tramps, beggars, &c.; they are not allowed to be about. In this country labourers do not go to work without knowing what they are going to have before they begin work. Farmers by no means carry the sway in this country; but the meanest. And come by all means: come out of that worse than Egyptian bondage; and knowing the evils, persuade Harriot's friend and brothers to try to come. Check them of their 1 s. 6 d. per day for me, and tell them here is plenty of wood-cutting in this country. I cannot but persuade them and you; tell Levi and wife to try to come with you. You had best come away as soon as possible, as the latter part of the summer is not so well to come; and when you come, send me a letter

† The population at Ewhurst is 1,225.

68 as soon as you know you are coming, and let me know what the name of the ship is, and when it will sail, and what the Captain's name is if you can; and then perhaps I shall come to New York to meet you. Direct to me, James Parks, to be left at Heppingstall and Scot, Little State Street, Albany; as I do not know how long I shall be in Greenbush, and they will help it to me. If you come, what money you have bring in gold, and not go buying of dollars in England, as you can have a premium on gold here. I shall now tell you a little

of our money. The only copper money we have is cents, about the size of a halfpenny. Our silver is sixpences, shillings. Pistoreens, that is 1 s. 6 d. each; guarter-dollars, halfdollars, and dollars; 100 cents is one dollar; £1. of English in New York will buy 4 dollars 75 cents. I get 21 dollars a month, but most other trades get more; and I mean to have more when my time is up, at the 1st of May. Carpenters get about 10 or 12 shillings a day; bricklayers about the same as brickmakers. Tell Edward, Fisher gets very high wages: some will get 40 dollars per month, and board. Day-labourers get about one dollar per day; and in busy time in summer get their board into it. When you come, Harriot wants you to bring her 6 or 8 yards of lace, and 3 or 4 yards of net, for caps; pretty good if you can. Be sure and don't let that infernal roque lay in your provisions, nor any body else; but see it all put up yourself. Don't bring a great deal of beef; and what you do, get a cask and salt it down yourself; for we had beef two years old, not fit for a dog; our tea was not half tea; our oatmeal was half-ground pease; our split pease, gray pease; our biscuits was the worst that could be got. Be sure to bring plenty of flour, some dried ham, and other bacon, plenty of potatoes, plenty of butter, sugar, tea, coffee, oatmeal, patent groats, rice, salt, pepper, vinegar, a few bottles of port wine to make sap if you are ill. Take care your biscuits are good: be sure to bring plenty of flour and rice; don't be afraid of bringing too much, nor few. But you can sell what you don't want, but don't sell too soon. Great many in our vessel would give three times the value of a thing before they got over. Take ginger with you for sap; plenty of rush candles: we had not near enough. Joseph is quite well: he has sold his nailed half-boots to be put in the Museum in Albany. Harriot and children are quite well: remember us to all that inquire after us; and tell the others that we expect we are more missed than wanted. We measure that by our own yards. I know that I come away a little in debt, but if I 69 had stopped it would have been worse; I hope I shall settle up before a great time with them, which is my intention. I want you to bring me a dozen of collar needles, most of them small ones. I have heard from uncle York last week. He is in Upper Canada, has a good farm of 200 acres, lives within 28 miles of a good market, and is doing well. William York is in Albany. Eleanor sends her love to you; she is married; has one little girl. Since I begun this letter I have taken a shop in Albany, but be not gone

back to live yet, but go over the Hudson river, night and morning, in a little boat. *Joseph B has let me have 200 dollars to setup with.* He is a Yorkshire man, and a Methodist, and brother to Eleanor York's husbnnd. He says he longs to see the old fellow from England: he is pretty rich, and getting money very fast. He says he is sure there is no business in this country a man can't save money at. I think it agrees with Harriot, for she is as fat as a pig. Tell Wimbletot folks once more to try to come: we are very anxious to hear from you. Harriot sends her love to her father, mother, sisters, and brothers. I fear they not got much love for me since I have took Harriot away; but I'll send them plenty of mine since they let her come. TellThomas Avann to try to come, again and again. America for ever for me. So no more from

Your son and daughter, James and Harriot Parks.

I direct to be left at the † for fear you should be moved.

Mr. James Parks, to be left at Mr. Benjamin Boot's. Wheelwright, Staple Cross, in the Parish of Ewhurst, near Northiam in the County of Sussex, Old England, Great Britain.

No. 15.

Greenbush, November 19 th, 1828.

Dear Father and Mother, —It's with pleasure that I take my pen in hand to send a few lines; but it would be more a pleasure to see you here: but let's hope you will get here in time. You want to know what we are all about; I tell you as well as I can. Stephen is about 200 miles west of Albany. They wrote to me some time ago; they was all well and hearty then, and thought they should do pretty well there. Boss* thought of getting them a cow. I

* Boss is an American word for master or employer, taken from the Dutch in the State of New York, I believe.

70 live where I did, in Greenbush village, opposite side of the River Hudson from Albany. My trade has been very dull this summer, but's some better now. I got me a good cow: gave thirteen dollars for her. I killed a good little hog last week; have two more fatting. Charles Crouch lives with us; he has got a real little bantom cook and hen; he gave four shillings for them. John, I believe, lives about four miles from York; at work at farmingwork: was well the last I heard of him. Josiah lives about 20 miles west of Albany, learning to be a blacksmith; gets eight dollars per month, and board: he was at my house about four weeks ago: was guite well. Joseph is where he was in Albany: he says mother was so afraid he would not make out very well in America without her; and now he is afraid you wont do very well there without him. I guess you would scarce known him. He is grown this year, and dresses like a gentleman: looks better than ever you see him: and I believe he is giving his heart to the Lord, and striving to please him. He has joined the Methodist Society in Albany, and is a teacher in their Sunday-school. Henry is in Long Island, opposite York, learning to be a hatter; was well the last I heard of him. Philip, I don't know whether he is in York with his old Boss or not; for he has had some notion of going to live where Henry does, to learn that trade; it is not so bad to get places for boys here as in England. Daniel and Stephen could earn their own living if you had them here. I give you my thoughts of England and America in the following lines of my own make:—Stay in England who will; I'll never return till your tyrants are kind, or most greatly reformed; but to such as would live independent of man, the advice I would give is, Come here if you can. Advice I have just said, not persuasion at all, lest the place you should hate, and the blame on poor Jemmy should fall.—Try all you can possibly to get here in the spring. Try to get away as soon as possible, as to get here before the hot weather if you can; and by so doing you will avoid danger by ice, which begins to loose from the north, and float about the first of May. If you some, all of you take physic before you start: and when you go to sea, mind and take care of yourselves at first; for I almost lost my life through neglect at first. If you find your insides bound up, take gentle physic directly; if on the opposite then take a little something for that immediately. Mind your provision is good for your passage; for ours was not fit to board a dog over. I have a hope that I will see you again in

this world; if I 71 should not, if we are found faithful in Christ, we are assured that we will meet in a better country than America. So no more at present from yours, &c., James and Harriot Parks.

Bring Harriot some lace for caps.

No. 16.

Brooklyn,* January 14th, 1828.

* A town in Long Island, just opposite New York, and separated from it by a water passage of twenty minutes, in a steam-boat. Population 7,175.

Dear Father and Mother, —I now take the pen to say a little of what has passed since we left England. We had a long voyage; we had head winds nearly all the way, and sometimes rough weather; in consequence of which we were out of such provisions as we could eat, being sick: and our pork and beef and biscuits were a disgrace to Mr.——; and we chose to eat potatoes alone, and leave the black-looking beef alone. Little Stephen caught a great cold, and was so ill, that when we arrived we were obliged to remain, for he could not be dressed; and Mr. Offins was so kind as to take us in till we got a place to live in. But I should have said we arrived on the 2nd of November: we hired a room, and my husband bought a saw, and went sawing wood and doing any thing, and we thought we should get through the winter pretty well; but when we had been here about three weeks, husband was taken ill; we were not aware that it was any thing but a cold; it proved to be the typhus fever, and it is now six weeks since he was taken, but is now mending very fast. We have had no parish to apply to for relief; but you would be astonished at the friends I have found, or rather, that have found us: for people that were quite strangers have called to know if a sick Englishman lived here; and one kind gentleman sent for a doctor, and another good old Methodist gave me leave to go to the grocer's for any thing in his name, and others were equally kind; in short, I should never thought to find such friends among strangers; they seem to feel a great pleasure in doing us good; and we have to thank

them, and to praise the Lord for all his mercies. I am as well as usual, and the children are growing fat. You may have heard that James and Joseph went directly to Albany: and James works at his trade. Joseph has got a place at a currier's. John is a 72 work as carpenter, for the winter; his Boss gives him 5 s. a day, our money, which is a little more than 2 s. 6 d. English money. Josiah is at New York at work, as lime-burner. Henry is 30 miles up the country as apprentice to a hatter: he sent us word he likes it. Philip is in New York, at one Mr. Hogbin's, formerly an apprentice to Mr. Burgess. Battle, he is not bound, he has only agreed for the winter; he has a good place in one sense, but his master thinks like Mr. Offins; but he says he has no objection to Philip doing and thinking like his father. Philip likes his place, and he earns a little for himself, and that gives him encouragement; he was here to-day, for I wash and mend for him. Uncle David is at New York; I don't know what he is doing; but Sam has plenty of work; and the girls have all been at service, that they might be no burden to them; but Harriot is come home again. Mrs. Hayter, formerly H. Neve, has been to see us; and she says that Anne might get a very good place here. They tell us that winter is a dead time in America; but we have found it as well and better than we expected. We can get good flour for 11 d. English money; good beef for 2 d. or 3 d. do., and mutton the same price; pork about 4 d.; sugar, very good, 5 d.; butter and cheese is not much cheaper than in England; clothing is rather dear, especially woollen; worsted stockings are dear, and you can't get good balls of worsted here. We have heard that Captain Griswell, that takes this letter, is a very good captain; and about the beginning of March expects to set sail from London: and we thought if you could suit to come it would be well. We don't wish you to come with such a company as we did:—from the captain to the lowest sailor they were abominable wicked; and there was no order, but swearing, cursing, and drinking, &c. When you come, don't let Mr.——lay in provisions; but be sure have plenty of flour, oatmeal, rice, and sugar; and, if you can, it would be well to have some home-made bacon; and see your biscuits and have them good. Please to bring me a pair of new gigs, for they wear such things here. We have not been able to meet society as yet; and, through affliction, we are almost deprived of any outward means; but we trust our faces are Zion-ward; and we beg an interest in prayers. And we must conclude.

Stephen and Martha Turner.

To Mr. James Parks, Sen., Cripses Corner, Ewhurst, near Battle, Sussex, England.

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No. 17.

New Hartford,† June 30th, 1828.

† About 270 miles from New York: the population 2,493.

Dear Father and Mother, —I now take the opportunity of writing to you since our long journey. But am very sorry to tell you that we had the misfortune to lose both our little boys; Edward died 29th April, and William 5th May; the younger died with bowel complaint, the other with rash-fever and sore throat. We were very much hurt to have them buried in a watery grave: we mourned their loss; night and day they were not out of our minds. We had a minister on board who prayed with us twice a day: he was a great comfort to us, on the account of losing our poor little children. He said, The Lord gave, and taketh away; and blessed be the name of the Lord. We should make ourselves contented if we had our poor little children here with us: we kept our children 24 hours. There were 6 children and one woman died in the vessel. Master Bran lost his wife. Mrs. Coshman, from Bodiam, lost her 2 only children. My sister Mary and her 2 children are living at Olbourn, about 80 miles from us. Little Caroline and father is living with us; and our 3 brothers are living within a mile of us. Brother James was very ill coming over, with the same complaint that William had. We were very sick for 3 weeks, coming over: John was very hearty, and so was father. We were afraid we should lose little Caroline; but the children and we are hearty at this time. Sarah and Caroline are often speaking of going to see their grandmother. Mary's children were all well, except little John, he was bad with a great cold. We have no more to say at present concerning our family. I have got a house and employ. I have 4 s. a day and my board; and in harvest and having I am to have 6 s. or 7 s. a day and

my board. We get wheat for 7 s. per bushel, of our money; that is, about 3 s. 7 d. of your money: meat is about 3 d. per pound: butter from 5 d. to 6 d.; sugar about the same as in England; shoes and clothes about the same as it is with you; tea is from 2 s. 6 d. to 3 s. 6 d. of your money; tobacco is about 9 d. per pound, of your money; good whiskey about 1 s. 1 d. per gallon; that is 2 s. of our money. I went and got a gallon the day I wrote this letter: brandy and rum is very cheap and good. If you feel disposed to come, I should like you to it. We send our kind 74 love to our brothers and sisters; and if they are disposed to come, I should like them to it, for here is plenty to eat and drink, and plenty of work. We work long days from sunrise to sunset: a person must not think of coming here to get a living without working; and they despise drunkards; but if a person keeps steady, he is respected much more than in England; he is admitted at the table with the farmer I have not heard any person find fault or grumble; but they appear to be satisfied with what we do: we generally work by the day. If you think of coming, or any of my brothers, I shall be glad for you to send me word as soon as you can. I desire to be remembered to my uncle and aunt Steed, and uncle and aunt Veness. I wish you to send or bring the direction of my brother William, and send word if you have heard from him. Father sends his love to his brothers, Boxell and John Willard, and his brothers Samuel and James Davis, and to his sister Mary Veness. I wish to be remembered to all inquiring friends; and if any wish to see this letter, let them do so. We don't know where any family is except John Crouch; he is with his brother, about 90 miles from us. We are at a place called New Hartford, about 270 miles from New York. We join in love to you all. And believe us to be your affectionate son and daughter, John and Harriot Veness.

To Mr. John Veness, Mountfield, near Battle, Sussex, England.

P. S. John Davis desires to be remembered to Mr. John Smith, at Whatlington: tell him he saw his brother and sister Bumstead, and they were very well. If Jane and Anne and John like to come, there is plenty of places for them.

18.

New Hartford, November 16th, 1828.

Dear Father and Mother, —I once more take the pleasure of writing to you, hoping this will find you all in good health, as this leaves all of us at this time: was sorry to hear of mother being so unwell. You said it was a great pleasure in receiving a letter from us; and be assured it was as great one, receiving one from you. The death of my brother was affecting to us; but was glad his master had the kindness to inform you. Mary has been here, and I told her: she is living about 4 miles from us; is well, and so are the children. Mary was much surprised when we told her, as you know 75 death has an affectionate feeling over us all; but we must all pay the debt sooner or later. You want to know all particulars about our passage over to America. We was from the 14th April we set sail from London, and on the 17th May we landed in New York; as to the usage we had was good, and we have no complaint whatever to make, as we had plenty to eat and drink. As to the affliction of losing our dear children, you will be better able to judge than we can describe; but, alas! death separated us on the billious ocean, which you, dear friends, must know would be great affliction to us all. My wife feels much better than might be expected, through such a scene of trouble as she had. Sarah and Caroline talk much about their grandmother and grandfather. We have all plenty of employ, and wages good, according to the price of other things. I get about 2 s., your money, a day and my board. I will give you the price of produce in America. Wheat is worth 9 s., your money, and this is a great price for this country; it is in general about 4 s. 6 d., your money; Indian corn is 2 s. 6 d., your money, per bushel; rice is 2 s. 6 d. a bushel; pork is 3 d. per pound; beef is 2½ d. per pound; mutton the same,—you will think this very low: butter is 6 d. to 7 d. a pound; tea from 3 s. to 4 s., your money; sugar 5 d. to 6 d. a pound. I think I can make a comfortable living for my family and self if I have good health. I think of going on a farm next April, on shares; the man finds the land, corn, and fire-wood, and I shall do all the labour, and have half what I raise: this is a way you know nothing about; but it is one much practised in America. You want to know if I like America better than England: I must say I do; for I think I can make a better living a good deal. And when I go to work for a man, I

sit at the table with the family; and Jack is as good as his master. I should be glad to see father and mother in America; and such as I have you would be hearty welcome to: but I shall advise you not to come before May, if you should come.

So no more from your son and daughter, John and Harriot Veness.

Please to give our love to uncles and aunts, and all inquiring friends. Father Davis is living with me, and gets plenty of employ, and has had pretty good health; but he had the misfortune to cut his leg, which was sore a long time. D 2

76

No. 19.

Dear Sons and Daughter, —My kind love to you all, likewise John's, and James's, and Henry's. You will want to know how we are getting along. I am living with John Veness, and work out. John, my son, has a most excellent place, and gets about 11 s. or 12 s., your money, per week; likes his place. James is hired out till the first of April; works on a farm; he has 1 l. per month, your money, and he is well liked. And Henry has a good place, and he says he never wants to come back to England. Henry gets his living and clothes, and three months' schooling, till the first of April; and then he will have a new bargain to make. Harriot and her husband give their kind love to you all. We should feel glad to see you all in America, as there is a good living to be got, easier than in England, should we have our healths; and, without health, over in England or America, we should be poorly off; so we trust in Providence. I want to know what you all are doing, and where you are living: please to send me word as soon as possible. Give my kind love to my brother and sister, and all inquiring friends.

I remain your affectionate father, William Davis.

I think if Thomas Veness was in America, he would do much better than he can in England; as a man can get places for his children, and get wages too: so a man with

a large family has a good chance. Mary Veness to all her friends desires her love and respects.

Mr. John Veness, Robertsbridge, Mountfield, Sussex, England.

No. 20.

Clinton,† December 6th, 1828.

† On the Hudson River, a hundred miles from New York. Population 6,611.

Dear Friends, —I suppose by this time you are quite anxious to hear from me and my children. We are all in good health. I am very sorry that I could not write to you before; but many circumstances have prevented. When I landed in New York, I met a gentleman, who took me and Harriot and John to Auburn, about 300 miles from New York; I lived in his family nearly six months. I was then 100 miles from my brother-in-law and Caroline. I left Auburn because 77 I was so far from my friends, and felt unhappy. I left John in Auburn, in a very good place. He has been to see me to-day, and says he likes his place very much, and wishes to return. After I left Auburn, I lived about four miles from my brother-in-law, in a pleasant place, and have for my wages one dollar a week. I wish two or three of your girls and my sister were here. I hope you will not make yourselves unhappy about me, for I have had very good luck since I have been in this country. Brother Thomas parted from me at Albany, and has never written to me. I inquired about him of Mr. Cruich: he said that he was in service and doing very well. I suppose he is between 1 and 200 miles from me. In April I expect to nurse Harriot, and to live with them, as brother intends going on a farm, and wishes me to live with them. I sometimes think how far I am separated from you, and this makes me feel unhappy; but I know I am better off here than I should be there. Remember me to my sister Phila, and George: tell them I hope to see them in America; it would be much more pleasant for me were they here. The worst is, the voyage over the ocean. I and my three children enjoyed good health coming over, excepting the sea-sickness, which lasted a fortnight; it did not hurt the children at all hardly. Harriot is

now living with sister Harriot: I heard from them to-day: they were all well. I would not return to England to live, though I should like to see you. Mr. Davis is living with brother: he called here last Sabbath: his boys have all good places, and are doing well. I hope when you receive this letter you will send to my dear mother. I often feel very unhappy in thinking that I never shall see her; yet I hope it will please God to spare our lives, to see each other once more in this world. I hope, my dear mother, you will not make yourself unhappy about me, for I am doing well; and though I wish very much to see you again, yet I do not wish to return to stay. How is your's and father's health, and my little brother's? Remember me to him and to father. How is sister's boy? Does he ever think of his friends in America? I suppose you would like to know something about this country: it is very pleasant; provisions are cheaper than in England; beef and mutton are much cheaper. What we heard about the country is pretty much true. A man can get 6 s. a day for work and his board: there is work a plenty for those that wish. Since I have been here, I have heard the very unpleasant news of the death of my husband. I felt very much grieved when I heard this: but I know I should not feel very unhappy; for had he lived, it was 78 quite uncertain if I should ever see him again, we were so far separated, and his business was such. After you have read this, you may send it to mother Veness. I send much love to her, and father also. My little boy, John, felt very bad that you did not mention him in the letter you sent to me. How is William? Does he not often think of his absent mother, and sometimes wish himself with her? I was in hopes to hear that my mother was better, and that she was well. I hope she will get able to come to America, with father and William, in the spring. Tell William, John is a good boy, and is liked in the places where he has lived. America is a fine place for good boys; if they wish to get good places, they must be good themselves. I wish to know how much the gentlemen in the parish give you for the support of William. If you should conclude to come to America in the spring, you will send me word; and I will do what I can to help William, after you get in New York, up in the country. I make myself happy about him, because I know he is well off; but I should like to see him and you all very much. Remember me to all our neighbours, to Martha Mepham. I want very much to write to her. Remember me also to Sarah, William, Richard, and Thomas

Davis. When you receive this, I want you to write to me; for I long to hear from you all: the least thing will interest me. I wish some of my neighbours would write. News from absent friends is very desirable. I did not find the land and country very different from England. Do write very soon to me. With much love to you all, I close.

Your affectionate daughter and sister, Mary Veness.

Mr. Hezekiah Harvey, Mountfield, near Robertsbridge, Sussex, England.

No. 21.

Hudson,† State of New York, July 6th, 1828.

† One hundred and ten miles from New York, on the banks of the Hudson. Population 5,310.

Dear Parents, —I now sit me down to write to you, to let you know that we are all safe arrived to America, and are all much better than we have been: thank a merciful God for it. I often look back on the scenes that we have passed through. While we were passing 79 over the water our sufferings were great; but that God that is loving to all them that trust in him, has brought us through. I will not grieve your hearts with all our sufferings, for my paper will not hold it. Little Mary was very ill with the fever that so many died with, —7 children and one woman; to hear their cries and moans, it was very bad. I was so ill myself that I was forced to crawl out of my bed, and lay on the floor while John made the bed. If you know of any coming here, tell them never to come where the vessel is so full; for we was shut down in darkness for a fortnight, till so many died; then the hatch was opened. I will not grieve your poor hearts with more about what we poor creatures suffered. I cannot tell you what day of the month we landed into New York, but we was about 33 days coming over, which was a good passage called. We landed on Saturday. On Sunday we found the chapel, and went twice,—a large chapel, and very full. After preaching the people came round to know what part we was from, and gave John a

paper to carry to a gentleman, who gave us 12 dollars, and a letter to carry to an English gentleman in Hudson, for work; and he set them on, and there they work still. John gets 7 s. a day. James gets 7 s. Richard and Daniel work at the factory, and get 2 s. each a day. Thomas is gone to live with that gentleman that we took the letter to,—a very good place; he is class-leader of the church of the city of Hudson, and gets 10 s. a week and board. Harriot lives in the city of Hudson, with an old gentleman and lady of the same church,—a very good place. We lived in the same city 4 weeks, but they had 5 miles to go to their work, and could not come home but once a week, so we are moved to their work. We live close by a large river, so I can look out of my sash-window right into the river. A very fruitful place; for apples, cherries, raspberries, grapes, plums, growing any where, any one may get them without money, what they please. Dear mother, I fear vou will be troubled to read that side, it is put so thick; for my paper is not half big enough to say all that I want to say: but this I can say, that we want for nothing; bless God for it for we can buy a leg of mutton every day, and green pease or French beans brought to the door, and we have got in 32 gallons of cider for 14 s. I wish you was all here to help drink it. Tell my dear sister if she was here she might earn 8 s. or 10 s. a day, for they charge so much for work. I was forced to give 12 s. for a cambric bonnet for Harriot. And now I must tell you a little what friends we met with when we landed into Hudson; such friends as we never found in 80 England; but it was chiefly from that people that love and fear God. We had so much meat brought us that we could not eat while it was good; a whole quarter of a calf at once; so we had 2 or 3 quarters in a little time, and 7 stone of beef. One old gentleman came and brought us a waggon load of wood, and 2 chucks of bacon. Some sent flour, some bread, some cheese, some soap, some candles, some chairs, some bedsteads. One class leader sent us 3s. worth of tin ware, and many other things; so we can truly say godliness is profitable unto all things. We are in a land of plenty, and, above all, where we can hear the sound of the Gospel. The gentleman that we work for has preaching in his own parlours, till he can build a chapel; it is begun not a quarter of a mile from where we live:—and may poor sinners be brought to Christ; for here is many that are drinking in of sin, like the ox the water. And now, my dear sister, I must say something to thee. I hope

these few lines will find you all well as we are at present: thank God for it. William told us to be sure to let him know how it was here; and if we liked the place he would come; so you must let him know all about it: and if he likes to come, no fear but what he will do well: but I know you cannot let him come without you. I want you all here, if you could go through the hardships of coming over. When you get here you may do well: I only wish I had come before. Give my love to Elizabeth, and tell her if she wants fine clothes she is to come here; it would be the making of her. Dear sister, I should be glad if you would be so kind to write to John's brother, Thomas Thorpe, at the Priory, Hastings, and let him know the concerns of this letter. The flowers are much here as yours; provision is not very cheap; flour is 1 s. 7 d. a gallon, of this money, about 10 d. of yours; butter is 1 s., your money 6 d.; meat from 2 d. to 6 d., yours 1 d. to 3 d.; sugar 10 d. to 1 s., yours 5 d. and 6 d. Tell father I wish I could send him 9 or 10 pounds of tobacco; for it is 1 s. per pound: I chaws rarely. Dear sister, I hope you will write to us as soon as possible: please to direct to Mrs. John Thorpe, Hudson Printing Factory, County of Columbia, in the State of New York, in America. Please to copy this letter out before you show it to any one, it is wrote so bad. Give my love to all inquiring friends. Send me all the news you can; so no more at present from your absent son and daughter,

J. and E. Thorpe.

The spirits of brandy is 3 s. 6 d. a gallon; and rum is cheaper. The weather is very hot here, and a great deal of thunder, very sharp. 81 Pray for us, and we will do the same for you; so now, dear friends, farewell till I see you. We landed into New York the 19th May.

Mr. Thomas Cooke, Cripscorner, Sedleseomb, Sussex, near Robertsbridge, England.

No. 22.

July 7th, 1828.

Dear Father and Mother, —I write these few lines to you, hoping this may find you in a good state of health, as it leaves us all at present. I hope you will not be uneasy about me; for I am better off here than I was in England: for I have a good house and garden, 90 rods of ground, and some fruit trees, for 25 dollars per year. I live in a good neighbourhood as any one wishes to live in. The best of this country-people, they are so friendly with one another; for they think of a poor man in this country, that keeps himself honest and sober, much more than they do in England: so I hope you will not be uneasy about me, for I have not suffered for any thing yet. I have neighbours here like father and mother to us. Now I shall give you an account of my passage. I left Liverpool on the 20th of April, and landed at New York the 20th of May. There I took a boat and rowed to Albany, for 1 l. 2 s. in our money; then I went beyond there: I might have gone by water. I am not 180 miles from New York, and about 4000 miles from you. We had as good a ship, captain, and sailors, as any one wishes to come with; we had only 18 hours rough sea. Now you may think, as I did, that it could not be as people wrote word, that every thing was cheap, and labour was high. I will tell you the price of goods: wheat 8 s. per bushel: all other grain 4 s. per bushel; beef and mutton 2 or 3 cents per pound; veal 3 cents; pork 8 cents: sugar 10 to 12 cents: tea 75 cents per pound; spirits 3 s. 6 d. per gallon. If a farmer has 100 acres of land, he has to pay only from 10 to 12 dollars a year tax; and that is all he has to pay: that is the reason they pay well for labour. Now this is a good country to come into. If Richard and Thomas was to come into this country, it would be the making of them: they might get from 8 to 10 dollars a month, washing and mending. One that takes his work, has from 4 s. to 5 s. and 8 s.; if a man can do all sorts of work you have this pay, and your grub found in the house: work here is different from what it is where you are; we work from sunrise to sunset. I have 2 shops a mile and D 5 82 a half from me; 2 meetings a mile off; one Church of England, and a water-mill, a mile from my house. Single passengers may come from Liverpool to New York for 4 l. 10 s., -30 s. for provisions. A dollar in your country is 4 s. 6 d., but here it is 8 s. I bought a pig for 5 s. in this money. I can buy as much for one of these shillings, as you can for one of yours. I live near Crouch; I have not seen him. I

will thank you to write back as soon as you can. Our Phœbe and John are quite well. John bowls about the house, and says Moom, moom. I and Mary give our best love to you all.

Amen. John Harden.

Direct to near Milton Town,† State of New York.

† Thirty miles North of Albany, and 174 from New York. Population 2,779.

To Mr. James Foster, Robertsbridge, Sussex, England.

No. 23.

Constantia,‡ December 2nd, 1828.

‡ Population 767, in Oswego County, on the borders of the Lake Oswego.

Dear Children, —I now write for the third time since I left Old England. I wrote a letter, dated October 8th; and finding that it would have 4 weeks to lay, I was afraid you would not have it: and as I told you I would write the truth, if I was forced to beg my bread from door to door, so I now proceed. Dear children, I write to let you know that we are all in good health, excepting your mother; and she is now just put to bed of another son, and she is as well as can be expected. And now as it respects what I have got in America: I have got 12½ acres of land, about half improved, and the rest in the state of nature, and 2 cows of my own; but if I had not had a good friend in England, I could not have bought it. We can buy good land for 18 s. per acre: but buying of land is not one quarter part, for the land is as full of trees as your woods are of stubs; and they are from 4 to 10 rods long, and from 1 to 5 feet through them. You may buy land here from 18 s. to 19 s. in English money; and it will bring from 20 to 40 bushels of wheat per acre, and corn from 20 to 50 bushels per acre, and rye from 20 to 40 ditto. You may buy beef for 1¾ d. per pound; and mutton the same; salt butter 7 d. per pound; cheese 3 d.; tea 4 s. 6 d.; sugar 7 d. per pound; candles 7 d.; soap 83 7 d.; and wheat 4 s. 6 d. per bushel; corn and rye 2 s. per

bushel. And I get 2 s. 4 d. a day and my board; and have as much meat to eat, 3 times a day, as I like to eat. But clothing is dear: shoes 8 s.: half boots 16 s.: calico from 8 d. to 1 s. 4 d.; stockings 2 s. 9 d. to 3 s. 6 d.; flannel 4 s. per yard; superfine cloth from 4 s. 6 d. to 1 l.: now all this is counted in English money. We get 4 s. per day in summer, and our board; and if you count the difference of the money, you will soon find it out. 8 s. in our money is 4 s. 6 d. in your money. And among the good things of America, we have good laws, as good as they are in England, and much better attended to. For if a man comes to America with a family, and falls sick or lame within 6 months, the county must take care of them; if they have been here 6 months, then the town, which you call a parish, must keep them. So people need not fear of suffering; and people are a great deal more friendly here than they are, or can be, in England: because they have it not in their power as they have here; for we are all as one, and much more friendly. I have found plenty of good friends here, such as I never found in England,—only one. As it respects this world's goods, and in the regard to Christian privileges, I enjoy myself much more than I did, in England. For we have preaching twice on the Sabbath-day, and prayer-meeting in the week; and all within but a mile of my house. I forgot to tell you that I had built a framed house upon the land which I had bought. Now, I think, if you can or do credit what I write, as it is truth, that it will suffice you. But amongst the conveniences of America, there is some illconveniences: first we have 2 or 3 miles to carry our grist to the mill; and 4 miles to go up to the store, which you call a shop; and when we get there, perhaps cannot get all we want; for where I live is a new country, and being so far from sea, where the goods come on shore, they are very often out of goods. Another thing is, we have no brewhouse near; so we cannot get any yeast to bake with; so we are obliged to make risings; and if we do not use them just at the right time, we sometimes make heavy bread. And the roads are very bad; but with all the illconveniences, I bless God for sending me to America. Josia has had the fever-ague for 8 or 9 weeks; but we hope lie has got rid of it. But them that I thought to find my best friends is not so. And all that wish to know the truth of America, let them help pay for the letters, because they cost a great deal: but let old Joker see them. Henry and his wife and 2 children are all well; he has just lost a little boy; he is gone into

eternity about 7 84 months old. He gives his kind love to you all. Remember us to all our brothers and sisters: and let them know how we all are, and how we are getting on; and as soon as you get this letter, write to let us know whether you will come to America or not; as I shall leave it to your own judgment about it. And if you judge right, I think you will come if you can; and if you come, you will do well to go to Benjamin Smith, Esq., and get him to intercede for you, as he was my best friend. And you will want 1 l. 10 s. to get up where I am, both young and old. And if you come, be sure to get the gentleman to let you lay in your own provisions; and not let that roque—get it for you. And get plenty of flour; plenty of hams of bacon; sugar, cheese, butter, plums; and the first of bread. Plenty of all this, and tea plenty; and bake a part of flour into hard bread as your mother did. And when you get to the Quarantine ground, have a letter wrote to send by the first steam-packet you see; to let me know when you shall be at Syracuse. The best way for you to come, is to come up to Albany in a tow-boat: when you get to Syracuse, call for entertainment at the sign of the Farmers' Accommodation; and if we get your letter will meet you there; and if not, come on to the town of Hastings, in the county of Oswego, and there you will find us out. And direct your letters, Thomas Boots, Hastings, County of Oswego, State of New York, North America. So no more at present from your

Ever tender and loving parents, Thomas Boots. Hannah Boots.

Be sure, if you come, come away in March if you can; for the sooner you come in the spring the better.

Mr. James Boots, Jun., Robertsbridge, Sussex, Old England.

40. The letters No. 1 to 6 contain the history of John Watson. After No. 6 look at the second paragraph of No. 11, where you will find further account of him; then look at the last paragraph of No. 12; that finishes the account of his progress; and there we find this English "pauper," of whom the Parish of Sedlescomb thought itself happy to get rid, seated firmly down on a piece of land of 75 acres, in a comfortable dwelling-house, and

having a good Orchard of Apples and Peaches, having earned the 85 money to make the purchase, and maintained his numerous family at the same time. I must beg the reader to attend to the progress of this man; to look at his prodigious efforts to get from an English Colony into the United States. When he writes from our Colony of New Brunswick in Letter, No. 1, he beseeches his brothers not to join him, not to emigrate; for that they little know what difficulties they would have to encounter. Look at his second Letter, No. 2, which he writes from the United States: his tone is immediately changed; and he becomes possessed of property. In his third Letter, No. 3, he and his family are taken with illness for six or eight weeks; but, no sooner was their situation known, than they had plenty of provisions brought them; they recover; both man and wife go to work, and, in a short time, he has two cows, two calves, and nine pigs, his property. In Letter, No. 4, he writes to his friends and relations to come and quit the country of tithes and taxes. Look, I beseech you, reader, at the postscript of this Letter, No. 4; look at what he says about the soap and the absence of the exciseman, and look at what he says about the security of food for his children! The sixth Letter contains useful hints as to seeds to be taken out. This man ought to be the admiration of every reader; and this man was got rid of by a parish in the East of Sussex!

41. No. 7 is from Stephen Watson, the brother of John, who seems not to be made of such stout stuff. It is curious what he tells his father and mother, about the *invasion of the Irish:* he writes, you observe, on the 5th of October, 1823; but his wife, who writes on the 27th of the same month, shows that she knows when she is well off; and it seems that, by the day that she wrote, the husband had become sorry that he did not bring his father and mother. In No. 8, which is from the same Stephen 86 Watson, we have a curious account of a man that *came back.* No. 10 is a letter that ought to attract the admiration of the whole world, if it could be put under the eyes of every person in it. This Mary Jane Watson, who in No. 10 and No. 11 does so much honour to her heart as well as her head, becomes, in No. 12, a *married woman.* In short, there needs nothing but the reading of the letters of this young woman alone, to settle the whole question as to the state of the people in America.

- 42. John Parks comes on in No. 13 with a very sensible and excellent letter; especially towards the close of it. The "Collective" might, if it would, blush as it reads this letter. And if it did not blush at that, it might look at the letter of James Parks, Which is No. 14; and particularly where he talks of Thomas Avann and his *bellystrap*. Good God! is it the custom of English labourers to wear straps round them to prevent the cravings of hunger? Look at that passage, and if you be an Englishman, and can read it without feeling your cheek burn with shame, you are made of something harder than marble. In this letter, the story about the *nailed half-boots*, that were *put into the Museum at Albany*, is worthy of notice. In this same letter, we find that the English Pauper, James Parks, had taken a *shop* at Albany.
- 43. In Letter, No. 15, he gives an interesting account, of the employment of several young people, and tells the poor people of Sussex, that they would *not know* one of them, *he dresses so much like a gentleman!*
- 44. Stephen Turner, in No. 16, points out how rich people ought to behave towards poor people; though we find instances of that sort running through the whole of these letters.
- 45. In No. 17, we have an account which is very curious; four shillings a day and board; in hay time and harvest six 87 or seven shillings a day and board; and wheat 7 s. the bushel! That is to say, then, more than a bushel of wheat per day all the year round; for there is the board into the bargain; so that, to live as well as these people in America, a labourer in England ought to receive, at this time, about *sixty-four* English shillings a week; and what they do get, on an average, is less than *seven*, taking one time of the year with the other.
- 46. In No. 18 John Veness gives an account of his being about to go on a farm *in shares;* that is to say, the landowner finds land, corn, and fire-wood, and Veness is to find labour, and is to have one half of the crop. Thus this English "*Pauper*" becomes a farmer all at once.

- 47. No. 20 is a letter from Mary Veness, who appears to have taken out some of her children with her, and to have left her husband behind. She provides at once for all her children; she appears to feel a good deal on account of her absence from her mother: but she hopes that she, her father, and brother, will join her in the spring. Talk of *affecting* romances! Read the letter of this woman!
- 48. Letter 21 is from John and Elizabeth Thorpe, and the wife seems to have been the writer. Read it, you blackguards who have calumniated the Americans; read it, you lying travellers, for it cannot lie. I have the original letter, which Thomas Cooke; gave me himself; and give it me he did with tears of joy in his eyes, and tears of gratitude to the benevolent people of America. The good woman who writes this letter, being a Methodist herself, seems to have thought that this goodness was confined to her own sect. If she had been of any other sect, she would have found things just the same, without any questions being asked as to what was her religion.
- 49. Johnn Harden, in Letter No. 22, gives an account of the cost of a house and garden. He speaks of other things 88 also; and he particularly notices that his friends may think as he used to think, that every thing could *not be cheap and labour high at the same time;* but he found it true, and he states the wages and the prices in proof.
- 50. Thomas Boots, who writes, in Letter No. 23, to his children in Robertsbridge, closes the series with a very interesting letter. He states the inconveniences of America; and it is curious to observe what they are; the distance from a mill, the distance from a shop, the absence of a brew-house, the want of yeast to bake with, and the bad roads; but he concludes, "with all the inconveniences, *I "bless, God* for sending me to America."
- 51. These letters, even without these comments of mine, will have amply spoken for themselves; but there is one thing that the reader should attend to; and that is, the difference of the prices in the same thing at different places. If the reader will look at the dates of the letters, he will see a very good reason for land, meat, flour, and all the

produce of the earth, being much cheaper at one place than at another; and also for a similar difference between the prices of sugar, tea, and all articles that come from abroad. When the place is situated at a great distance from the sea board, as at Constantia, (Letter 23,) you perceive, that tea and sugar are dear, compared with the price of those articles at New York; and that, on the other hand, while beef and mutton are stated at from two pence to three pence a pound at New York, they are sold at seven farthings a pound at Constantia. This must be attended to, or else the reader will not acquire from these letters a correct view of prices. The farther you get from the sea, and from great navigable rivers, like the Hudson, all articles that are either imported, or manufactured in great towns, become dearer, and, the price of the produce of the land diminishes in value. This is very well for a man like John Watson, who lives from the 89 land; but it is not the same for a man who intends to farm principally for the market, and thereby increase his riches. John Watson says, in No. 5, "We make our own soap and candles;" and he has just got forty or fifty yards of linen from the loom, made of his last year's flax! And this is a pauper of whom the farmers in Sussex wished, to get rid! This No 5 letter of Watson announces the birth of another child, and announces that his eldest son has attained the height of a man, and that "he has just been out for a month, and earned himself a summer suit of clothes. "Pray, reader, look at the close of this letter, No. 5, and also look at the postscript; look at the signatures of the letter, and then ask what the state of England must be, when it is desirable to pay for getting rid of such people!

52. Thus far with regard to the fitness of America for *English labourers*. There remains to be stated that which will show that it is the place also for tradesmen, for farmers, and for people who live on their means already acquired. I have, in my "Year's Residence," spoken of these matters also; but I have now three letters, received from Mr James Russell, of Rye, accompanied by a letter from himself. I shall insert the whole, beginning with the letter of Mr. Russell. These letters will, in a great measure, speak for themselves. They come from well-informed men, and they give a detail of prices of land, and of rent of house and land, extremly interesting to tradesmen and farmers. I will first insert the

letters, and then speak about their prices particularly, this being a very important point; and the prices of this species of property differing very widely in different parts of the country, and differing also according to the situation of the place relative to navigable, rivers. Therefore, when I have inserted the letters, which are full of interest in themselves, I will give full explanation of these matters. These letters are, comparatively, of very recent 90 date, the first two being dated in the month of August, 1828, and the other in the month of January, 1829, and they all come from men of business. The first two letters are written by Benjamin and Theorophilus Fowls, addressed to Mr. Daniel Dobell, of Smarden, in Kent, and the last letter, that of THOMAS and ELIZABETH FULLAGAR, addressed to Mr. William Mercer, of High Halden, in Kent. So that here is nothing left to doubt, nothing left to question; here is every thing fully stated; here are the parties alive and present to be referred to; and here, in the face of all England, are these statements made; and therefore these statements cannot be false.

To Wm. COBBETT, Esq. A.

Rye, June 23rd, 1829.

Sir, —Seeing, by your Register, that you intend, immediately, to publish instructions for Emigrants to North America, and owing you a debt of gratitude for the information I have received from many years reading your Register, I thought possibly the enclosed two letters would give some information to the public, and particularly as the persons from whom they came are well known in the Weald of Kent, from where so many have emigrated, and where a great many more will continue to leave. The two, by name *Fowle*, are natives of Cranbrook; and Fullagar was from Woodchurch. He was a maltster there, and was fined a *hundred* pounds for some error (not defraud) respecting wetting barley; but fter considerable *trouble* and *expense*, having proved no intention to defraud, he was let off for *satisfying* the officer for his trouble. This you see is *one* part of the glorious constitution, the envy, &c. &c. &c. Respecting the information contained in these letters, you may rely the authors are men of honour and integrity. If you think proper to publish, as

they are, with the names attached, you are at liberty so to do, or to take extracts as you please; or if you don't think them of any consequence, then all is well, and I have done my duty to you and my countrymen, in endeavouring to render a service to you and them. With these impressions I subscribe myself

Yours faithfully, James Russell.

91

B.

Caledonia,† August 25th, 1828.

† In the State of *NEW YORK*, on the Genese River, about 300 miles from New York. Population 2,645.

Dear Cousin, —I received yours of April 3rd, and truly the contents were gloomy; the reverse is truly the case in this country; so much that I think there never was a period since *the fall of man*, nor a country to be found on the globe, where peace and plenty so generally abound as in the *northern* states of America. The laws we as pure as can be expected to be formed by man, and are executed by a wise and judicious magistracy, *chosen by the people*; every man is promoted by *merit, no titheing, no established religion*, yet all protected, and stand or fall on the principles of their own conduct and faithfulness to each other.

You requested me to inform you of all the disadvantages in this country. I will, to the best of my knowledge. First, the oak timber is not so good in this country as in England. Secondly, the shoe-leather is not well manufactured, consequently, not so firm and durable as is yours. Thirdly, we have more dry hot weather than you have. Fourth, it is with great difficulty that a good girl can be obtained to do the work of the house for 11 *l.* 10 *s.* sterling; good girls are in great demand, for wives. Fifth, new cleared land is full of stumps, which are very troublesome for seven or eight years, and sometimes ten or fifteen

years, till they rot out. Sixth, and lastly, I have ransacked my brains to make up these objections. We have not more than one in a thousand that retain the degrading principles of the old country; viz., that pride and conceit of being too good to sit at the same table, to eat and drink with their own servants, or those who labour for them. Thus I have given you all the account that I think worth mentioning to you, respecting the disadvantages; but to enumerate all the advantages time would fail. I have heard your son arrived safe at *Utica*. Respecting the enjoyment of the necessaries of life, and the comforts too, the rich and the poor, all fare much alike. Our bread is made of superfine flour. Have beef, pork, and mutton in abundance; and I have no desire to live any higher than the common industrious poor now live in this country. The tea mostly used is old and young byson, hyson skin and twankay we purchase from 3 s. 4 d. to 5 s. 8 d. per pound; pork 2 d. per pound (fresh); beef at 1½ d.; butter 6 d.; cheese 4 d. per pound; wheats at 92 3 s. 6 d. per bushel; potatoes 1 s. ditto; a common labourer's wages 28 l. for a year; improved farms, with good buildings, from 3 *l.* 7 s. to 5 *l.* per acre. There is a new country, in the western part of this state, of unimproved land, at 10 s. per acre; there is an English settlement here. I have given you the price of all the above articles in English money. Good tobacco is one dollar for twelve pounds. I have been *poor master* of this town for many years, and I find it is a *rare* thing for a resident to become an annual town charge. In the circle of my acquaintance I know of no one who takes the trouble of locking or barring their doors by night, for thieving is so uncommon that they think it entirely useless and unnecessary. My brother will follow me, while I remain, most faithfully, Yours, Benjamin Fowle.

C.

Caledonia, August 25th, 1828.

Dear Cousin Dobell, —I often think of you since I left England. I have found this country better than I expected. It is beautiful and good. I wish you and all your family, yes, and all my children, were over here, for I enjoy more pleasure in one week here, than I ever found in England for two years together. I never knew there was so much difference between a

free people and those under a—. We have but very little taxes to pay, and *no tithes*. Every industrious man has a good chance to live well and get *rich*. If any of you think of coming to America I can inform you how to prevent being imposed on: that is, for you to purchase your own provisions, and see to the packing them up yourselves; for the shopkeepers will many of them, sell one kind of bread and pack up another kind not half so good. I live with brother B., and never was so well off in my life. In this part of the country I have seen pigeons flying from the south to the north this spring a thousand in flight; and have seen twenty or thirty such flights in a day. This is, I think, the best country in the world. The common people are as well off as the farmers in Kent, and the farmers here live as well as they can wish to live. I am fully satisfied that you would like it if you were here. You can have no idea about it. I cannot tell you one half of the advantages.

I remain, Your affectionate Cousin, Theophilus Fowle.

93

D.

Utica,† Hopper Farm, January 7th, 1829.

† Ninety-three miles W.N.W. of Albany. Population 2,972.

Dear Uncle, Aunt, and Friends, —We have been very much gratified by the receipt of your two letters from your *priest-ridden country*. Your three sons are quite well and happy; they drank tea with us on New Year's Day; and, I do assure you, you need not concern yourselves respecting their moral conduct, or any thing that may prevent their succeeding in this country, as their conduct is a sufficient recommendation for the promotion of their happiness. You desire me to inform you how much it will require for you and Mrs. M. to live on the interest in this country; the legal interest is seven per cent. per annum on real security. The living is much cheaper in the country than in town. I will give you a detail of the prices of provisions, house-rent, fuel, land, &c., and leave you to judge of the money you will want. House-rent in this village is very high; for such a house us you would want

would be from 80 to 100 dollars; fuel from 2 to 2½ dollars per cord; 8 feet long, 4 feet high. and 4 feet wide. In the country the rent of a house, with a large garden, about 16 dollars per annum, and fuel a mere nothing. Land is at various prices. The unimproved land, 6 or seven miles from *Utica*, is about 10 dollars per acre. I can purchuse a farm of 87 acres, with a good new house, barn, lodges, stable, and styes, the land fenced into fields, with rails, and about 70 acres cleared, with a good orchard, for 2000 dollars, six miles from Utica. If this farm could be well stocked, I have no hesitation to say, a man, with all his own money for purchase, &c., may live, in comfortable independence, without a tyrant Lord domineering over him for killing his own game. He has no taxes to pay, except his equal share for the support of the civil government, which is but a mere trifle. He has no poor's-rates; for he dwells in a land where government does not interpose its greedy hand to snatch the cup of industry from the lips of the feeble. He has no tithes to pay, for here are no hireling priests, such are the blessings enjoyed by the American farmers. Mr. E— 11, of Tenterden, with all his *great* powers of mind, which he thinks he possesses in his objections to the comforts of America, is as ignorant as a blind man is of colours. Land, half a mile from this village, is worth 8 or 900 dollars per acre for building lots; such lots also sell very high in Utica. Stephen Pot, and George Hopper, late of Tenterden, have bought some unimproved 94 land 30 miles north of Syracuse, for two dollars per acre. They are to pay 20 dollars per annum, till they have completed their purchase; and seven per cent. per annum interest for purchase money in arrear. I will here subjoin a list of the prices of provisions, &c. Flour, superfine, per barrel of 196 pounds, 8 dollars and 50 cents. It is 3½ dollars dearer than it was last April; owing, I suppose, to the wet summer, it has been 10 dollars. Beef, per pound, at the market, 4 cents to 6 cents, fore quarters, and 3½ dollars per cwt.; for hind quarters 4½ dollars; for pork 6 cents per pound; for mutton and veal 3 cents per pound; butter 14 cents; cheese 7 cents; tea 75 cents; candles 12½ cents; soap 7 cents; sugar 12½ cents; loaf ditto 25 cents; snuff 25 cents; tobacco 18 cents; new milk, in summer, 3 cents per quart, in winter 4 cents; eggs, per dozen, 25 cents; fowls, ducks, and turkeys, 7 cents; geese of 7 or 8 lbs. 25 cents; the Yankies don't love geese. Indian corn meal, per bushel, 50 cents; buck-wheat flour, per lb., 3 cents; rye flour, per

bushel, 62½ cents; hay, per ton, 8 dollars; whiskey, per gallon, 25 cents; brandy and rum 1 dollar; potatoes, per bushel, 25 cents; oats 21 cents; wheat 1½ dollar; cider 32 gallons, 75 cents to 1 dollar; apples 25 cents per bashel. There are some people who emigrate to this country, and not seeking correct information, return again to England; but those who come with a resolution to persevere, and an inclination to live here, are well satisfied that they have escaped from misery and starvation. This shows the importance of persons making themselves acquainted as much as possible with the country. Respecting the healthfulness of this country, we have been here 13 months, and none of us have had a visit from any apothecary.

We are, dear uncle and aunt, Yours, affectionately, Thos. and Eliz. Fullagar.

53. What I have said respecting the prices mentioned in the former letters, applies, in general, to nothing but provisions and labour. But these letters, which I have just inserted, apply to lands and houses. Mr. Fullagar's letter is particularly valuable; as it gives a detail of prices which can leave us no possibility of falling into error. His account is, that land (uncleared land), at about six or seven miles 95 from Utica, is to be bought for ten dollars an acre. But, then, he gives an instance of a farm of eighty-seven acres, which he could purchase for 2,000 dollars. The dollar being 4 s. 6 d. sterling, this is £450, which, being divided by 87, brings the land to something more than five pounds an acre. Seventy acres of the land are cleared, and are fenced into fields: there is a good orchard, a new house, barn, lodges, stable, and styes. This, then, we may regard as the price at Utica. Where, then, is Utica? Utica is situated on the south bank of the Mohawk river, 93 miles from Albany. It is a very flourishing place, with a population, some years ago, of 2,973 souls, has 7 churches of all sorts, an academy, and four printing-offices. It is a central point, where the turnpike roads from various parts of the States unite; and Dr. MORSE, from whose American Gazetteer I take these facts, adds, "that it forms the key of trade and travel between a large section of the Western country and the Atlantic ports, and that the canal passes through it, and adds to its importance." Now, it is within six or seven miles of

this place that land is to be bought for about £2 an acre, which I suppose to be uncleared land; and that farms are to be bought as above described.

54. This place being ninety-three miles from Albany, and Albany being 144 from New York, is, of course, 237 miles from the sea; but there is a water communication to Albany, and a ship communication from Albany to New York. Now, if such be the prices of land and of farms in a situation like this, they cannot be more than double the price, even at twenty or thirty miles from NEW YORK, Philadelphia, or any other great place, Let us now look at the prices of provisions at Utica. The flour was, it appears, when Mr. Fullagar wrote his letter, 31½ dollars dearer than it was the year before; but if we take it at 6 dollars, that brings it to seven-and-twenty shillings English 96 for the 196lbs. A hundred and ninety-six pounds are equal to three bushels and a half of English flour; and this American flour is superfine; and this is 7 s. 3½ d. the bushel of 56lbs. Beef at the market is, at this UTICA, four cents to six cents the pound. A cent is the hundreth part of a dollar; and, therefore, as near as can be, equal in value to an English halfpenny, which makes the beef from two pence to three pence the pound. Bearing the value of these cents in mind, and not forgetting that mutton and veal were three cents per pound, look at all the rest of the prices; but, as you proceed, always bear in mind the comparative value of the cents. This letter was written in the month of January, when eggs were probably at five or six times the price they bear in the spring and in the summer. The milk is always comparatively dear in America, on account of the labour which attends it. Fowls, ducks, and turkeys, at 3½ d. a pound, and geese of seven or eight pounds for 25 cents; that is to say, for about 1 s. 1\% d. So that, while the farmer must have a pretty good profit from land so cheap, and untithed and untaxed, the labourer must still live well on account of the low price of provisions, compared with that of labour; and the person who lives upon his means, need certainly not seek for a cheaper place than this pleasant and busy town of Utica.

55. Mr. Fullagar gives us information with regard to persons who intend to live on their means. He says, as I said in a late Register on the subject, that the legal interest of money is *seven* per cent. per annum on *real security;* that, in the country, house and land rent

are much cheaper than in the town; that a house in the town, such as his friend would want, would be from eighty to a hundred dollars a year; that is to say, from £18 to £22 10 s. But that, in the country, the rent of a house with a large garden, would not be above sixteen dollars a year; and that, in the 97 latter case, the fuel would be a mere nothing, while in the former case, it would be from two to two and a half dollars per cord; that is to say; a stack of wood, eight feet long, four feet wide, and four feet high; and if you burnt ten of these during a year, the expense would be about £5; and Mr. Benjamin Fowle tells us, that he has been poor-master for the town of Caledonia for many years, and that he finds it a rare thing for a resident to become an annual charge. He adds, which is the great pleasure of all, "In the circle of my acquaintance, I know of no one who takes the trouble of locking or barring their doors by night, for thieving is so uncommon, that they think it entirely useless and unnecessary." Here is a man, an Englishman, living in a town with a considerable population in it, a place of trade, and a thoroughfare for travellers; he has, for many years, been collector and distributor of the poor-rates, and will you not believe him, in preference to the hired writers of travels, and to the assertions of that hireling publication, the Quarterly Review?

56. The price of land very near to New York, or to any of the *great commercial cities*, must, of course, be a great deal higher than at Utica; but, unless within twenty miles, I should think, not much dearer. At any rate, whatever the price of land be, the price of the produce, and the nearness and certainty of the market, compensate for the higher price. *Houses* in the great cities are very high in price, but this arises from the great business carried on. We have seen the expenses of living at *Utica*. In that town, which has seven churches, *four printing offices*, and an *academy*, any family might live at a *fifth part* of the expense necessary to the same family in any town in England. But, I need say no more on this part of the subject: here are all the facts (undeniable facts) before the reader; and I now leave him, be he high or low, to judge for himself, whether the E 98 United States be, or be not, the country for him to emigrate to, if he emigrate at all.

57. With regard to the *best part* of the United States to go to, that must, in a great degree, depend on the pursuit of the party, and on the state of his family, their age, and other circumstances. If a man intend to pursue a *trade*, some city or town is the scene for him. If farming be his object, the country he must go to, and his own judgment will point out the precise spot. As to which *State* is best, I should prefer that of *New York*. But I exhort every Englishman to avoid *back woods, new countries*, and even *uncleared land*. Such a farm as that mentioned by Mr. Fullagar, is the thing for an Englishman. I advise all to go to *well-settled* parts of the country, and not to a great distance from the sea. We do not know how to clear woods, and can not live in *wigwams*. The lamentable fate of those who followed the unfortunate Birkbeck, ought to be a warning to all who dream of *prairies*, and of lofty forests.

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LETTER IV. On the Preparations some time previous to Sailing.

58. The first thing is to be provided with the *means* necessary to pay the passage, and to get all your money *in hand*. Labourers, artizans, and the like, stand in need of a few pounds, at any rate, after landing; for though, if able and willing to work, they *may* do without, and, though, if ill, they would certainly not be left to *starve*, and would not be put into prison, *because* they had no home; still they ought, if they can, to have a pound or two when they land. Persons of property will need all their money; and they should collect it altogether, and, in some way or other, carry it out with them.

59. Having quitted business here, the best way is to get out of an expensive town, and live cheaply in lodging in the country, and then wait for the proper *season*. If the emigrant be a single man, he can go at any season; but, the best season is *the spring*. You then arrive in very fine weather; the weather permits to travel with speed whether by land or by water; and you will, if you wish it, have seen a great deal by the fall of the year.

- 60. Do not encumber yourself with household goods, or with beds and bedding. They are all to be got in America, and far cheaper, of the same quality; and, *perhaps*, they E 2 L. of C.I. 100 will sell for *something* here. It is only *perhaps;* but the wooden parts will do for fuel, and some one will accept of the rest as a gift. Above all things, do not take your *decanters*, or your *cork-screw;* and resolve never to use either again. You are going to a country where claret used to be about *eight English, pence a bottle*, and where you may literally swim in whiskey or gin, and pretty nearly in brandy or rum. But, resolve *never to taste either.* Drinking is the great vice of the country; and, if you wish to have health and happiness, you will rigidly abstain from that fatal and disgusting vice.
- 61. Prepare suitable, but very cheap, dresses for yourself, wife, and children, to wear on board the ship; and have these ready long beforehand. If your wife have been accustomed to have servants, it will be absolutely necessary to dismiss them. They are of *no use* on board the ship; they cost a great deal; you will have to wait *on them*, and not they on you; they will be *more sea-sick* than your wife and children will be; they will be a plague to you throughout the whole voyage; and, the moment the ship gets on *soundings*, and long before you see land, they will kick up their heels, and set you at defiance. Do not imagine that you have got a miracle in either *man* or *maid*. You may think that they are attached to you; and so they are; but, they cannot give up their *liberty* and their *pleasure*. These they will not give up, though many would sacrifice their pecuniary *interests*.
- 62. Two or three months might be very well spent, after you quit your farm or your shop, to *try* a little to do without servants altogether; for, though you may have them again, it is very well to be *able* to do without them for a week or so. You hear Mr. Fullagar say, that, in America, " *good* girls are in great demand for *wives*." And, the truth is, that very great pains, and not less patience, must be taken 101 and exercised in order to obtain the services of a *good girl* or woman. Yet, with good management, this may be accomplished; but, the sure way is to rely principally on your own wife and children, with the aid of work-

wome'n occasionally; and, there is this of good belonging to all these, that they will not *rob* you: they are too proud to do that.

- 63. You ought also to discipline *yourself* a little, if you have been accustomed to have servants and work-people; for, though you will never find an American *saucy*, you will find him *keep away from you*, if you treat him haughtily and roughly. Imagine not that you will find English servants more submissive: liberty and equality are in the *atmosphere:* the English catch them, the moment they land; and, like all converts, they surpass their teachers. If you have time, it may not be amiss for you to take a trip to *Ireland* before you sail. Go thither, and observe *very attentively*, how the rich demean themselves towards inferiors; observe *well* the voice, and manner, and language in which the former address the latter; and, then, be *sure* to do *precisely* the *contrary* in addressing servants and workpeople in America; and prepare yourself for it before you quit England.
- 64. Now, do not be *alarmed* at this. You will find as nice, as neat, as well-regulated houses and families in America as you have ever seen. You will do very well with the *men*, and your wife will learn, from her hospitable and kind neighbours, what to do with the women. There are great numbers of rich men in America, merchants, lawyers, doctors, parsons too. Many of these keep, fine houses and gardens, and live in great style. *They* do not sit down with *their* servants, which is the practice only with farmers and rather lower tradesmen. But, even the richest men do not attempt to treat their domestics *haughtily*; and no man or woman *ought* to be treated haughtily by any body.

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LETTER V. On the sort of Ship to go in, and of the steps to be taken relative to the Passage, and the sort of Passage; and also of the Stores, and other things, to be taken out with the Emigrant; and how to carry and transmit Money.

65. The ship will be no other than an *American* one, if you wish for a *quick* and a *safe* passage. The Americans sail *faster* than others, owing to the greater *skill* and greater

vigilance of the captains, and to their great sobriety and the wise rules that they observe with regard to their men. They carry more sail than other ships; because the captain is everlastingly looking out. I have crossed the Atlantic three times in American ships, once in an English merchant ship, once in a king's ship, and once in a king's packet; and I declare, that the superiority of the Americans is decided, and so decided, that, if I were going to cross again, nothing should prevail on me to go on board of any ship but an American one. I never knew an American captain take off his clothes to go to bed, during the whole voyage; and I never knew any other who did not do it. The consequence of this great watchfulness is, that advantage is taken of every puff of wind, while the risk from the squalls and sudden gusts is, in a great measure, obviated. A lazy captain, or one that gets drunk over night, does one of two things: keeps 103 out too much sail, and thereby risks the ship, or, in order to avoid danger in this way, keeps out much less than might be carried, and thus the ship is retarded in her progress. There are few nights, and no days, when a skilful mariner cannot see the squalls and gusts approaching. When I came home from America the last time, we had, I dare say, ten squalls a day, and sometimes twice the number: during the squall it was necessary to take in a good deal of sail; between the squalls we could carry a good deal of sail, the breeze being stiff, but the wind fair. The captain, who was almost constantly on deck day and night, and only went and laid down two or three times in the day, and never in the night, between the squalls, could see very plainly when they were coming; and always had his sails taken in, a few minutes before the squall reached the ship. As soon as the squall was over, and it did not last ten minutes perhaps, out went the sails again, and thus we went on for a whole fort-night, with a very little intermission day or night. A drinking, sleeping fellow would have done one of two things: keep out the sails during the squalls, and have his sails and rigging torn to pieces, and have been retarded on his voyage; or, he would have taken in his sails in the evening at any rate, and just kept on at two or three miles an hour, instead of eight or ten miles an hour, during the night. And from what I have been told, added to what I myself have observed, I am sorry to have to say, though it is my bounden duty to say it, that I verily believe this to be in general the difference between American and English

captains. I have sailed with three Americans: neither of them ever pulled his clothes off, from the time the ship weighed anchor to the time she cast anchor again. I am persuaded that the superiority of the American *navy* must have been in a great measure owing to this superior vigilance and skill. Doubtless the bodily strength of the men had something to do with it; but this 104 vigilance, especially, this everlasting watchfulness, this wonderful adroitness in taking advantage of every little circumstance, must have had a great deal to do in the ensuring of those astonishing victories which the American navy obtained over ours. Even the correspondents of the poor people in Sussex press their friends to come by an *American* ship! Their little experience had furnished them with knowledge enough to make them press that advice home; and therefore I need not, I think, say more on this point.

66. There is something in the size of the ship. A small ship is very disagreeable, even if you be in the cabin: she is tossed about much more than a large ship; and she seldom has any conveniences fit for passengers. But, as to this matter, there are so many American ships, passing between London, Liverpool, Greenock, and New York, that you can be at no loss on this score. There are, upon an average, three or four ships every day in the year, quitting New York for some part of this kingdom. Some ships are a great deal older than others; and there may be cases when they are becoming dangerous, from their age. You should, therefore, make full inquiries on this head, beforehand; should go and see the ship yourself; but, as to seeing the captain, and ascertaining what sort of man he is, these are useless; for a captain of a ship is one man on shore and another man on board; and, perhaps, the rougher he is in the former state, the smoother he is in the latter. You must, indeed, leave yourself no reason to care about his temper or his manners, any more than about those of the person of whom you buy your ship-stores. The taking of your passage must be a plain matter of business; the bargain made, the money paid, and the transaction recorded in a written memorandum, which is best for both parties; for you will not be very good-humoured when you are sea-sick; and, when passengers complain of the bad temper of the captain, they 105 do not reflect on what their temper would be, if they

were plagued with sea-sick people, and had to listen to their unreasonable and incessant wailings, and their everlasting senseless questions. Rousseau says, nobody likes to be asked questions; and, though it is very natural for land people to be constantly crying out against a sea life, and against the various and great inconveniences experienced in a ship, the ship, recollect, is, at any rate, the Captain's home; the cabin is his parlour; and no man likes to hear his home decried, be that home what it may. There are, therefore, great allowances to be made for what is deemed the bad temper, and what are called the rough manners, of captains of ships. If they have several passengers, they have a great deal of annoyance to endure; and that, too, when involved with many cares and anxieties. Take you care to abstain from pestering the Captain with silly questions, and you will rarely find him what is called an ill-tempered man. Take you care of yourself as well as you can, and leave him to take care of his men and his ship.

67. The next question is, what sort of passage you are to take. A cabin passage, if for one grown person, is from thirty to five-and-forty pounds, perhaps, according to the style in which you are to live; if a whole family go, the children are taken for much less, and a bargain is generally made for the whole in a lump. There are little rooms, or closets, separated from the cabin by doors, which are sometimes taken where there are women and children. These are often to be obtained for a specific price; and, in short, you must go and examine the place well, if possible, and make your bargain for whatever you may want. Where there are women and children, great care ought to be taken about providing the proper room; for, it is too late to repine, when the anchor is once weighed. Every consideration ought to be bestowed on providing for a mitigation of E 5 106 the great and painful inconveniences that women have to undergo: and, the greater their native modesty, the more insurmountable their reluctance to depart from that delicacy which has been habitual to them all their lives: the more painful their situation on board of ship. Therefore, if you be in that state of life which points out the propriety of a cabin passage, sacrifice every thing but the great object in view, in order to make the voyage as little painful as possible to women of this description.

68. If your circumstances point out the steerage instead of the cabin, the price here is, with provisions found, for a single grown person £8., and for children under fourteen years of age £4. 10s. each: this is from London; from Liverpool, £4. 10s. for a grown person, and thirty shillings for provisions, if found by the Captain. In the cabin, the provisions are found by the Captain, and this is by far the best way; but, in the steerage, it is best to take your own provisions; and as to the sort of provisions, the foregoing letters contain an abundance of information. The writers of those letters had had experience in every particular; and they had enumerated all the particulars. Look at the latter part of No. 14, or, rather, towards the middle of that letter, and you will see numerous articles mentioned. Flour, rice, ginger, candles, grots, salt, pepper, vinegar, port wine (which I never knew to be necessary), dried ham, other bacon, potatoes, butter, sugar, tea, coffee. You should take some biscuits, and perhaps three or four times as much as you want, for fear of a very long voyage, and consequent famine; but, I never could bring myself to eat biscuit; and, as these good people say, plenty of flour is the great security. I would add, some fresh eggs, well packed in bran or salt; I do not recollect any thing else, except a bottle of brandy for the steerage passenger, and a gallon of brandy for the cabin passenger, to be judiciously administered in 107 bribes to the black cook. He would bid you toss your money into the sea; but he will suck down your brandy; and you will get many a nice thing prepared by him, which you never would get, if it were not for that brandy. I hold wine and all spirituous liquors, and even beer, to be wholly unnecessary on board of ship. The water is always good; the tea slops are always at hand; and every thing that is intoxicating in its nature adds to the severity of sea-sickness. I always drank water, except upon one of my passages; and then I found the beer an evil rather than a good.

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LETTER VI. On the Precautions to be observed while on board of Ship, whether in the Cabin or Steerage.

69. In the steerage you must take your own bedding. It will be good to take blankets, sheets, and some pillows also; and, in some cases you must take the mattress. This you will settle beforehand with the Captain, and will be provided in quantity according to the season of the year; but in the steerage, you must take every thing that you are likely to want in the way of bedding, and go beforehand, and fix upon the berth; and if you have a wife, your own senses will point out to you the place to choose for her, if you have the power of choosing. The steerage, as it is called, is the space between the top deck and the middle deck, in the middle of the ship. To begin at the stern, the cabin comes first; next comes the steerage, and after this, the rest is called the forepart of the ship. The steerage is separated from the cabin by a partition. From the top deck to the cabin, you descend by a stairs; and into the steerage, you descend what is called a hatchway, by the means of a step ladder. Please to keep this description in your mind, and then read the first part of letter 21. Never were gloom and sunshine more strongly depicted than in that same letter. It appears that the steerage of the ship was crowded to an excess; and as to the sufferings of the poor people, it 109 is impossible for me to make it so perfect as that which has been given by Mrs. Thorpe herself. But, as you read this true and dismal description, recollect that what is here related was a thing of a most extraordinary occurrence, an occurrence much more rare than that of persons being burnt to death, by the 'firing of their houses; and, because the latter sometimes happens, we do not refuse to live in houses, and to make fires, and burn candle. I went to America, the last time, in a ship which had forty grown-up steerage passengers; fourteen or fifteen of whom were women; several of these had children, and four or five afforded evident symptoms that the like would soon be their lot. Daring the whole of the passage, which was of the ordinary duration, we never had a sick person on board, except the Captain's brother, who had come to England for the recovery of his health, who died on board, at about half seas over, and whose brother took him to America in a puncheon of rum. We had sea-sickness, a plenty, for about ten days. While that is going on, certainly, the miserableness of the creatures cannot well be surpassed. While it lasts, you will hardly have any reflections at all: you will think, if you do think, that the world ought never to have been made, particularly the watery part of

it. Some people, however, are never sea-sick at all. I never was but once, which I have always ascribed to abstinence from strong drink, and to my moderate eating, as well previous to the voyage as during it. There are some very good hints on the subject of taking physic preparatory to a voyage, which you will find at the close of the Letter No. 15.

70. The steerage has berths to sleep in; placed along the side of the ship; these berths are separated by boards, and are so constructed as to prevent your rolling out when the ship leans on one side. Every man's senses will guide him in choosing the best berth he can for his wife, and every decent 110 single man will give way in such a case. At the best, however, it is a state of great inconvenience: without any description from me, a married man will easily conceive the many awkward, ludicrous, and painful circumstances that must here occur: but, having prepared himself for them, they will be the more easily overcome. It is a case of absolute necessity; and this very tempgrary inconvenience must be borne with, as part of the price of obtaining a great and permanent good. When the object is to secure the peace and happiness of wife and family for life, and for the lives of the children which will succeed them, what is the amount of these inconveniences? As to the work of undressing and dressing, however, this is managed in a very decent manner. If there were men so brutal as not to go upon deck, and leave the women to themselves, the Captain would instantly interfere, and compel them to do it, However, this is what never happens, I believe. The greatest and most injurious inconvenience is, that the modesty of English women too frequently restrains them from relieving themselves by going to the usual place for the purpose, which place is, and must be, upon the deck, and within the sight of all those who are upon the deck. This reluctance, however amiable in itself (and very amiable it is), has often produced very disagreeable, not to say fatal consequences. That mode of relief has been pointed out by nature; it is indispensable to animal existence; retention to a certain extent is destructive; and the sufferings experienced on this account are very great. French women must be excellent sailors; but English women, or American women, must change their natures, before this can cease to be a subject of really serious importance. Use every argument in your power to get over this difficulty with regard to

your wife; lose no opportunity of overcoming her scruples; be very attentive to her in every circumstance and point attending 111 this matter; and, if she be in a state, from her seasickness (which is frequently the case), not to admit of removal from her bed, you must, be prepared, not only with the utensils suitable to the case, but you yourself must perform the office of chamber-maid; and this, you will observe, must be the case in many instances, whether you be in the steerage or the cabin: for, as to her servant-maid, if she have one, you are pretty lucky if you have not to perform the same office for her; for there is no woman on board able to go to her: a thousand to one they are all sick together; and as to any other man performing the office for her, where is such a man to be found?

- 71. However, all this is but of ten days' duration: things grow better in a very short time; the stomach to eat returns; the blood takes a new flow; the sea air braces, and you are in comparatively happy society; all are in better humour than they were before; children never suffer severely from sea-sickness; and their little tumbling upon the deck, and their observations on the sea, together with various other circumstances, render their company as pleasant as it was on shore.
- 72. During the time that you are on board, indulge, if you be a cabin passenger, in as little familiarity as possible with the captain: begin to act upon the American motto (Always civil, never servile); you will not find him much disposed to talk, and very rarely will he do any thing to give you offence; but, however well you may like him, and however good-tempered he may be, it is best to avoid great familiarity; for, recollect you are bound to each other's company for the voyage; you can never be but a few yards asunder; one little crooked word obliterates weeks of kindness; one such word leads to another, and that may become a pain which might have been a very great pleasure. Steerage passengers are not in this danger with regard to the captain; 112 but they might be in great danger with regard to the sailors, to whom they should, if possible, never speak, except in case of absolute necessity. Talking with them interrupts them in their business; you can gain no

useful information from them; none but the cook can render you any real service, and him you must *pay* as before directed.

73. Now, it is a great question very frequently, whether a man, in middling, or rather low circumstances, should go in the steerage or the cabin. Much must depend here on the way of life of the party; on the way of life which he has chalked out for himself, and particularly on the disposition, age, and state of health of his wife, if he have one. For a single man, farmer, or mechanic, the steerage is really as good as the cabin, and, in some respects, better. The fresh meat consisting of pork fed in the long-boat; of mutton from sea-sick sheep, with eyes as white as those of whitings; of turkeys and fowls that are never killed until at the point of death; and of ducks and geese that would not die, indeed, but that will be poor as a dog-horse: this fresh meat is miserable stuff, and, therefore, you have, in fact, every thing in the steerage which you have in the cabin, if you take proper pains to lay in the stores. Neats' tongues, recently salted, are excellent things: during the whole of my last voyage, I never tasted any other meat, though there was fresh meat for a considerable part of the voyage. Little cakes of bread baked by the cook, these neats' tongues, now and then an egg, washed down by water, or by tea or coffee (for I then used the slops), were my diet during the voyage. It was not long, to be sure, but I landed in health just the same as that with which I set sail. If a man have a thousand pounds, or two, or more to take out with him, and, if the whole of his family be healthy and strong; if his business have been that of carpenter, mason, farmer, or even shopkeeper; and if he be hale, and moderately young, 113 the steerage may be the most proper place for him. Supposing him to have a wife and four children, the expense of a cabin passage would be about £150; while a passage in the steerage for the same persons would be, for the passage alone, only about £16; and as to the provisions, if they cost £12, there would be a superabundance, and that part which would be left would be by no means to be thrown away, all being of a durable kind; so that the steerage passage would cost £22, which makes £128 difference. Here, then, are five hundred and seventy-six dollars, and if you turn back to the letter of Mr. Fullagar, letter B, you will find that, in the neighbourhood of the town of Utica, a good farm,

with house, buildings, orchard, and all, are to be bought for two thousand dollars. Now, 576 dollars are more than a quarter of that sum; and, in letter No. 2, you will find that John Harden had got a good house to rent, a garden with ninety-two rods of ground, with fruittrees, for 25 dollars a year. Take these at twenty-five years' purchase, and they amount to 625 dollars; so that you would save enough to buy a place like this, all but 49 dollars. I do not recommend such saving if it be attended with great additional suffering to your wife; but if she, upon a view of all the circumstances, upon a fair representation of the matter, can be brought to give her consent, what is the inconvenience for six weeks, when it is to be repaid by "a good house and garden, ninety rods of ground, and some fruit-trees;" and these too, be it observed, your own clear property, wholly untithed, and nearly untaxed. The steerage is, in point of safety, equal to the cabin: they are both in the same ship; one cannot sink without the other, and, indeed, neither ever sinks any more than towns are lost by earthquakes in England: they are on a perfect equality in this respect, and, as to your being kept from going on the guarter-deck, and being looked upon by the cabin 114 passengers as an inferior, a man, or a woman, those who can think any thing of these, are wholly unfit for enjoying the blessings to come at which they have undertaken the voyage.

74. While on board, you should pay great attention to the alarms of your wife: as for yourself, you must get over them as you can; but it will be necessary for you to be ready on all occasions to allay her fears, and to cheer her up. The howling of the wind through the shrouds of the ship: the sudden calling up the hands on the deck in a dark night; the rattling upon the deck by the falling of ropes and the hand-spikes; the trampling of the feet of the sailors; the bawling of the speaking trumpet, to overcome the roaring of the wind, and the doleful answer of the sailors in the shrouds, in a tone of voice just the contrary of that of cheering: in times like these, be you very watchful, very attentive; tell her it is nothing; go upon deck, if you can, and if you cannot, cheer her by telling the truth: make the best of the matter, at any rate; for Dr. PALEY said that it is not lying to tell a madman falsehood in order to prevent him from doing mischief; and then I am sure it is not lying for you, while you pat your wife's cheek, and affect to laugh, to tell her that the captain says

that there is not the least danger, and that the ship is going on at a famous rate, though, perhaps, that he has told you to get down below, and keep out of the way of him and his men, and has given you no sort of answer to your inquiries about dangers. The dangers, when they happen to take place, are, in fact, very soon over in general; you laugh at what alarmed you, and you have prevented your wife from being very much alarmed, and that is a duty by no means to be neglected; but always bear in mind that, in every part of the ship, the danger is the same.

75. Children, too, if they be of an age to estimate danger, 115 or to understand others when they talk of it, are not to be neglected, especially if they be girls; for these early frights have frequently a great effect, not only upon their minds, but upon their bodies. The care, as to provisions, is greater in the steerage than in the cabin. The cooking place, called the *cabboose*, is for the whole ship, and you, if in the steerage, must seize your opportunity when the pots and other things are disengaged. You must yourself be cook, except as before excepted, in the case of the use of the brandy battle, which latter must be large in proportion to the number of your family, and the frequency of your culinary preparations. I have before mentioned a large bag of biscuits of the best quality, and fresh made, which I regard as a store against short allowance and famine. Flour, in its various modes of use, fine and excellent flour, is the great resource. Apples, excellent, refreshing; and apple puddings are easily made. Your wife will sit up in her berth, in very rough weather, and make the puddings in a large tin pan, which you ought to take out for the purpose. The cook will boil them for you; he will bake or broil cakes for you, and boiling water is all that you want for the slops of various descriptions. Gruel, during the seasickness, is pretty nearly all that you want. Plenty of tin things to hold tea, coffee, gruel, water, for glass and crockery ware must be smashed to pieces. You will want no cookery of meat, except the broiling of a rasher, or the boiling of a ham, or of a bit of bacon. What these Sussex people mean by sap, I do not know; though I suppose it to be gruel; but one great thing is to avoid, when your stomach is good, to make it bad again, by overloading it with any thing; it being not so much the nature of the thing, as the quantity of it.

76. There is one thing which, though it may appear to be a trifle, is, nevertheless, worthy of your attention; 116 and it is this, not to show, while you are on board, an extraordinary degree of anxiety for the termination of the voyage: endeavour to feel this anxiety as little as you can: be thinking less about the voyage than about what you are to do after it is over. Eternal questions to the captain about the latitude and longitude in which he is; about the way that he has made, and about the time when he thinks that the ship will arrive; these are all very disagreeable to him and his mate; who will not like you (the cabin passenger) for seeming to be in such indescribable haste to get out of their company. They like the ship: they can see no reason for disliking her; they know her to be the best piece of stuff that ever swam upon the water; they look upon the cabin as a paradise; and, think what you will of the matter, they will like you none the better for expressing, by fair implication, your dislike of their ship and their company. And, as to you (steerage passenger), bait not the poor sailors with your questions of the same sort; for they, instead of wishing the voyage to be short, always wish it to be long; and, instead of wishing for fair weather and smooth seas, always wish the former to be moderately foul, and the latter moderately rough; and are never so happy as when tied by ropes to the bulwarks for fear of being washed overboard, and when all the sails and yards are taken down and stowed away, and when the masts are lowered to the lowest possible point. Tied to the bulwarks, they sing like birds in a shrubbery. But, if it be only a gale of wind, they are at work in the shrouds, and incessantly pulling and hauling; if a fair wind, and gentle breeze, or even stiff breeze, and fine over-head, or if it be a calm without rain, there is plenty of work for them, mending ropes, mending sails, putting things to rights below, washing and scraping the decks; in short, they are at work. So that their interests induce them to wish precisely for 117 that wind and weather which you dislike, and to wish for a long voyage while you wish for a short one. The captain, and he only of the whole of the ship's company, wishes for a short voyage, which saves him provisions in the cabin; and he being paid by the voyage, and not by the day.

77. The best way is, not to pester any of them with questions, and not to seem impatient even if you be so. When you approach the land, and get sight of it, it is better not to express (for indeed you cannot, if you would) the pleasure that you will feel. The women and children, especially the former, will express enough upon this subject for themselves and you too. Take it all patiently; let the ship come quietly to anchor; and be in no hurry to get upon the shore. Give no money for it: the ship will bring you to the edge of the wharf at the next tide, or the next tide but one, and then take your family and things on shore without any expense worth speaking of, and save yourself the expense of boats, from which I verily believe more accidents arise, on an average, than from the ships themselves.

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LETTER VII. On the first steps to be taken on Landing.

78. I Am speaking of New York, though I suppose it is pretty nearly the same in all other sea-ports; but NEW YORK is the great port of all, and I am better acquainted with it than with any other. I am to suppose you to land without knowing any person in that city. This is not the case, I dare say, in one half of the instances, there being such numbers of English people in that city, and in that STATE; but I am to suppose this, and then I am to inform you, that there are not inns and public houses in the cities, to which people go for the purpose of lodging; but, instead of these, places called boarding houses, where people board and lodge for so much per week. There are hotels of a very grand description, one of them I believe far surpassing any one in England, not only in size and elegance, but in expense of entertainment too. These places, however, are out of the question with every one who has not got handfuls of money to fling away. The boarding houses are of all grades, from twenty dollars per week for one person, down to four: I have never heard of any less than that. At these houses, the parties are lodged and boarded, without any trouble at all to themselves; and they are kept, I might say, without an exception, by persons of unquestionably 119 good character. The meals are brought to one general

table, three times a day; and the variety and plenty are every where pretty much the same; the room, and style, and manner, constituting all the difference between the highest and lowest.

79. It would be prudent for you, whether cabin or steerage passenger, if you have a family, or even a wife, to go on shore yourself, first, and look for and fix on a boarding house to go to. There generally are, I believe, boarding-house keepers of rather low description, that is to say, whose boarding is at low price, to come on board of ships which have emigrants on board, to engage them to go to their houses; but it is better to go and examine for yourself. When you have fixed upon the place, you get a card in a minute, give the man the number of the boarding house, bid the ship, the sails and the rigging all farewell, and trudge off to the house with your family. The custom-house officers will look at your boxes and trunks, but will give you but very little trouble, and you will see, for the first time in your life, persons acting under the government, polite and respectable, be your dress as mean as it may.

80. Now, you may have to remain some little time in New York; and, if you be farmer, shopkeeper, or any person in the middle rank of life, to whom it was an object to save the 576 dollars in the affair of the passage, it must also be an object not only to save as much money as possible in the boarding; but to get to a cheaper place as soon as convenient; even before you take any steps for settling. A labourer, or an artisan, settles by *getting work:* that is his settlement; and here let me give every such man one piece of advice. Two men, a tailor and a collar-maker, were amongst those steerage passengers that went out in the same ship with me, the last time I went to America. In 120 about a month after I had been in Long Island, they came to see me; and, perceiving them to be still as meanly dressed as they were upon going from the ship, I asked them what they had been doing? They said they had been doing nothing: I was surprised, and asked them whether people had left off wearing coats, and horses harness. They said no; but they could not get as high wages as others got. I found that each could have got a dollar and a half a day, that is to say, 6 s. 9 d. a day, English money, or forty shillings and sixpence a week; and that they

could have boarded even at a boarding house for eighteen shillings a week: and at very decent private houses for fifteen. I am here speaking of English money. I advised them to go by all means, and accept of the terms offered by the masters: and told them that, at any rate; I had nothing to bestow upon men, who could, if they would, clear their teeth, and save 25 s. 6 d. a week.

- 81. Now, the sensible, and even the just, thing, is, for a man to go to work at once, for whatever wages he can get. No man will offer him so little that he cannot live well by his work, and save money too. When he has once got a footing, when he has got a little bag of dollars, which he may have in a short time, if he will, he can look abroad, he can move about, he can change his place, and do, in short, as the Sussex emigrants have done.
- 82. With regard to men in the middle rank of life, and especially those who have families, the advice which would suit those with a considerable sum of money would not be suitable to those who have a small sum; such as have this small sum ought to go to the cheap boarding house, for, if there be the man, the wife, and the four children, the expense would vary from eighty dollars a week to sixteen. Certainly the man with little money will prefer the sixteen; and, as to his wife, she will, if he talk reasonably to her, choose 121 the cheap house; especially the living there will be the most abundant she has ever seen. Persons with more money may go to a dearer house if they please; but still the scale ought to be kept as low as it can well be made, since the money thus saved will purchase so much of solid property.
- 83. But, unless New York be to be your final destination, it will be well to quit it as soon as convenient; for, why should the money be wasted by lingering here? No intelligent man, whether tradesman or farmer (for gentlemen another set of observations will be necessary), will be in New York three days, without getting information from as many Englishmen as he pleases. No one will have an interest in deceiving him; every one will communicate freely with him: every one would wish him well, and advise him accordingly to the best of his knowledge; but there is this to be guarded against, every man has his

partialities as to place: if he like a certain place, he thinks that all others ought to like it: if he prefer a certain line of business, he is apt to think that it ought to be preferred by every other man; for, you will observe, that there is no rivalship there: no man wants another man's land, or another man's business.

84. If you find a situation to suit you, and have the means to purchase a farm, or set up a shop, go to it at once, and thus prevent the waste of money. If not, remove to the country as soon as you can, where the board and lodging are not in boarding houses, but in taverns, and, still better, in farm houses; where, generally speaking, they are ready enough to take. in lodgers and boarders. Here you can wait at a little expense; and, while the wife and children remain quite safe from all thieves, robbers, and every evil-minded person, you can traverse the country, having relieved yourself from the expenses of New York. While I 122 you remain in that populous and elegant city, your wife and daughters, if you have any of the latter, will begin to change their dress. The pretty things mentioned in letter 10, by Mary Jane Watson, once of Sedlescomb, will be very pleasing to their eyes; and, as the expense is so trilling, there is no reason that they should not be indulged in this matter. If they have been restricted to rotten cottons in England, how gladly will they exchange them for gowns, and crapes, and sbawls, from China; and, When they walk along the main street of NEW YORK, that solid and beautiful street, compared with which, the miserable plaster of Regent Street is beggarly, they will, like the Sussex emigrants, bless God for bringing them to America; and will say, Mary Jane Watson, that "it was the best thing that father ever did for his family." The indulgence even of their full desires in this respect, would cost next to nothing when compared with the cost of things here. This is not a thing to be neglected by any means; for it will tend to reconcile the wife to the country; it will furnish her with a comparative argument in favour of the change; every time she looks at the American dress, she will not fail to whisper to herself the fact, that she must have lived and died in England, and never possessed such things.

85. When you remove to the country, as a temporary residence, she will perceive, to her astonishment, that a farmer's, a shopkeeper's, an artisan's, and even a labourer's wife,

never trudge on foot, even for a single mile, to visit her friends and neighbours. She will find people quite ready to carry her and her children about in their gigs, or light wagons; and she will every where find, that she is received with as much cordiality as one of the family; and the more destitute she appears to be of friends and acquaintances, the more she will find such to flock about her.

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LETTER VIII. On the way to proceed to get a Farm or a Shop, to settle in Business, or to set yourself down as an independent Gentleman.

86. I shall speak first of the farmer; but, before I do that, let me suppose the case of a farmer who is able to work and who has little money; and let me suppose the same of a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, or other handicraft business. If such a man have little money, not enough to purchase a farm worthy of the name; and at the same time somewhat approaching towards a sufficiency, his best way is to purchase, or rent, a suitable place to live in with his family, and to go to work himself for some other man. We see that John Watson, after recovering from illness, set to work, and that his wife, though with a growing family, took in sewing, and that presently they had two cows, two calves, and nine pigs. We find him, at a later period, with a farm, which he had earned in a year and six months, besides keeping his family. His farm was not great, to be sure; but he had earned it, and kept his family too. The daughters, if eleven or twelve years of age, and strong, should go out to help, as it is called, and the best of employers would be happy to have them. The same with regard to the boys. The expense of living becomes next to nothing; and, if a man land with only two F 2 124 or three hundred pounds, the addition to the sum soon enables him to purchase a farm. In the meanwhile he may farm on shares, as is mentioned in Letter No. 18. There his industry and skill have their full reward: he is a farmer at once; and nothing but want of health (which will depend in a great measure upon himself) can prevent him from being in that happy state, so finely described in the letter C of Mr. Theophilus Fowle.

87. The artisan should do the same if he have not money to begin his trade at once; and it would be an advantage to him, too; for, amongst brother workmen he would get thoroughly acquainted with all the customs of the country. With regard to the shop-keeper, who knows how to do nothing else but to keep shop, and yet has not money to set up a shop, which is there called a *store*, he, if not an old man, could help in the shop of another. If he be willing to work at any thing, his little stock of money must increase, and if *store-keeping* continue to be his taste, he will soon find the means of keeping *stores;* for new scenes for doing this are continually opening; an increase of people and of produce, naturally and inevitably demand an increase of stores.

88. If the farmer have the means of purchasing a farm at once, he will, of course, proceed to get it; and I advise him to see many places, and to make full and minute inquiries before he establish himself: but by no means to go to back woods or new settlements, for which Americans are perfectly well qualified, and for which Englishmen are wholly unqualified. Men are tempted by the *cheapness*, as it is called, of land; but if they examine well, they will find that every acre of land (beyond the immediate vicinity of town) bears a price pretty exactly proportioned to the price of produce, taking all the articles together. Let me beg the farmer's attention to this. The price of flour, and 125 of some other articles, does not appear to vary much between Utica and New York; but there is a great difference between the price of turkeys, ducks, fowls, and geese, it Utica and New York, to which Mr. Fullagar might have added, apples, peaches, fruit of all sorts, together with melons, water-melons, squashes, and various other things, which, at Utica, can be hardly worth raising, and which, at New York, fetch, though at a low price, from the great quantity and the ready market, a great deal of money. Besides this, the wood, which at Utica sells from two to two and a half dollars a cord, sells, on an average, at about seven dollars at New York; and every farm in America consists partly of woods. Cider, Mr. Fullagar tells us, sells thirtytwo gallons from 75 cents to a dollar; that is to say, thirty-two gallons for about 3 s. 6 d. English money, which is very little more than a penny a gallon. At and near New York it sells for about seven times the price; so that, though it is cheap enough even there, I do

not know that this is precisely the price at New York now; but it is manifest that an orchard at Utica is a very different thing from an orchard at twenty or thirty miles from New York. We see, by Mr. Fullagar 'S letter (letter *C*), that mutton and veal were, in the month of January, three cents a pound at Utica; that is to say, three halfpence English; but, by number 16, we find that mutton was two or three English pence a pound at New York, or at Brooklyn, which is the same thing. We find that pork, which was six cents a pound at Utica, was eight cents, or four English pence a pound at New York, or Brooklyn. The difference between the two sorts of pork at the two places is not so great as the difference between the two sorts of fresh meat at the two places; and we find butter and cheese at New York pretty nearly as dear as in England, while at Utica the butter is fourteen cents, or seven-pence 126 English, and the cheese seven cents, or threepence half-penny English; and please to observe, when Mr. Fullagar wrote, he spoke of the English prices which he left behind him, which must have been those of about the year 1825.

89. So that, if you look at the great difference in the price of all these perishable commodities; and especially if you take in the *poultry*, which is one great part of the produce of a farm near New York, where a goose sells for fifty cents instead of twenty-five cents; and where a turkey of ten pounds sells for five English shillings, instead of selling at three, as at Utica. If you take this into view, you will find that the 87 acres of land, with the buildings described by Mr. Fullagar, which, in the neighbourhood of Utica, could be bought for 2000 dollars, would be worth 4000 dollars if as near to New York; and certainly a great deal more, if you take into view the probability of using it for the purpose of country houses; but it would be worth 4000 dollars, even if placed within 20 or 30 miles of New York, still carrying, of course, its intrinsic quality along with it.

90. The price of the produce of a farm, is not all that is to be taken into consideration here; there is the price of the articles which are to be purchased by the family, and which generally come from cities and towns situated on the edge of the sea; or from manufacturing places which are almost all near the sea. Tea, sugar, coffee, all articles of great consumption, hardware, crockery ware, and numerous other things, together with all

the articles of clothing, except the making of them; all these are of much lower price when brought to a farm at about 20 or 30 miles from New York, than they can be when carried to a distance like that of Utica. These things ought to be considered; and the farmer, before he purchases, will do well to make inquiries respecting them. When he has got the prices of 127 farm produce at any two given places; and the price of the articles wanted to be purchased, he will find that he has the means of deciding with precision on which of the two spots it is most advantageous to lay out his money. He will also take into view the relative facility of procuring stock for his farm; the relative price of wagons, carts, and other implements, not leaving wholly out of his view the convenience or inconvenience of mills, roads, and water carriage; the nature of the soil and situation as to health; and, lastly, he will set a due value on the nature of the neighbourhood; and well consider whether it be such as is likely to afford an agreeable intercourse between his family and himself, and those by whom he is surrounded. Having determined upon the spot, and taken up his residence, the sooner he gets acquainted with his neighbours the better for him; and he will do well to bear in mind, that they know the country better than he, and that he ought not to deviate hastily from their mode of cultivation, management, purchasing and selling.

91. If a tradesman, by which I mean tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, and the like, have the means of setting up in business at once, he ought also to look well about the country; go to several towns and villages; make the same inquiries as to prices in his way, as the farmer will have made in his; and when he has fixed upon the spot, begin in a small way at first; give the thing a trial without much *outlay;* keep a part of his property in reserve, till the returns from his first undertakings come in.

92. Shopkeeping is, in America, a *store-keeping*. In New York, Philadelphia, and such places, the stores are much about like our shops in London, and other great towns; tea is sold at one, sugar at another, cloth at another, and so on. But the country store, or a store in a small town, contains every thing usually sold in shops; from a ball of 128 string to a large fishing-net, and from a pin to a spade or shovel. Sugar and all groceries, hardware, crockery ware, silk, cotton, linen and woollen goods, all sold at the same place. Butter,

cheese, eggs; the several sorts of flour or meal, and even of corn and grain; and all the sorts of drink, are sold at the store. A man with money to begin with may be a storekeeper immediately. We see by letter No. 14, that James Parkes has taken a shop at Albany. It was a small one to be sure, not having required more than 200 dollars to set it up; but, the truth is, that there is an opening for stores almost every where; and this must be the case where the population and the produce of the land are continually increasing. There is no considerable store-keeper in America who does not, if he live in a great town, keep a horse and gig; and if in the country, a little light wagon, sometimes drawn by one horse, and sometimes by two. To the store he generally adds some land for cows and horses, and not unfrequently he is farmer at the same time. He generally deals for ready money, or nearly such; and a much happier life it is not easy to conceive. Large farmers very frequently keep stores, and this is the case in every part of the country wherever I have been. There is a great profit upon the goods retailed; and this must necessarily be the case, where labour and interest of money are so high; for, if the profits were not great, the store-keeper's time would be better employed in common labour on the land, or in some trade; and, if he did not get high profits for the use of money, his money would be better employed by being lent on mortgage, or other sufficient security. No exciseman comes to rummage his store; no exchequer terrifies him out of his senses: here is an opening for maltsters, brewers, for men of every calling; and, in short, if a man cannot do well here, he can have neither industry, nor any 129 one of those qualities necessary to the thriving in trade. No parson, no tax-gatherer, comes to worry him: he keeps his gains to himself and his family, and takes as much or little of toil as he likes.

93. We now come to a man who has the means of living, and also for providing for his family without either farm, mechanical trade, store, or mercantile project; a man who can not only keep his family well, but who can provide for their living in the same manner after he is dead. I shall suppose such a man to possess £10,000; not much of a sum; but quite a sufficiency for any man. —10,000 are 45,000 dollars, the legal interest of money in the state of New York is seven per cent.; and this can aiways be had on *land security*. In

countries that are flourishing, the interest of money must necessarily be high; because, as I had observed in the case of the shopkeeper, the labour being high, other things must be high in proportion; the profits of trade must be high; and, as trade is carried on by money, the rent of money must be high. The interest of the 45,000 dollars would, therefore, be 3150. We have seen the price of houses in the country near Utica; and, suppose them to be three times the price at a distance of ten or fifteen miles from New York; and, suppose the gentleman's house to be four times as good, or ten times as good as that which Mr. Fullagar describes as fit for his friend: even that amounts to only 160 dollars a year for house-rent. However, let us suppose land along with the house, and a sufficiency of land for gardens, paddock, fields for corn, with stables, with orchards, and with every thing else necessary to an easy, a happy, and even an elegant life, the whole of this might be had for 4 or 500 dollars a year. Six servants, out-doors and in, three maids and three men, would take in wages about 450 dollars, a year more; suppose there to be six in family besides the servants, the gentleman, his wife, two sons, and F 5 130 two daughters; and suppose five or six horses and three or four cows to be kept, the provisions of this house, drink included, taking into view the produce of the land, whence would come almost all the meat of every sort, and all the vegetables and fruit; the maintenance of this family, except clothing, could not cost, it would be impossible to make it cost, more than 600 dollars a year. Carriages, clothing, entertainments, the very best that could be given; fish and wild fowl in endless abundance; every thing could not make the expenses of this family exceed about 2,100 dollars a year; so that there would be 1,000 dollars a year saved to go on to make the fortune of each child equal, in time, to that of the father. I am supposing this gentleman seated down upon LONG ISLAND, 20 miles from New York. The family wants society, as it is called, and cannot they have i? To NEW YORK is a ride of two hours, upon a road as smooth as your hand. In divers other directions it is just as good; you are there in two hours; and what can any gentleman want more than New York? Hotels, Courts of Justice, Museums, Picture Galleries, Great Booksellers 'shops, Public Libraries, Playhouses; and, in short, an over-stock of all sorts of amusements and of fineries, with the most beautiful streets and shops in the world, and without a single

beggar, public prostitute, pickpocket, or Jew; and with a road to be travelled for a thousand nights between your house and the city, without so much as ever hearing hinted to you the idea of a robber.

94. If any man or family can ask for more than this; if they have the conscience to ask for more than this, they merit to perish with hunger, or, at the very least, to die beggars in England. Beautiful coaches made at New York; gigs, curricles, hackney coaches, the latter not like the beggarly things seen in London, but looking like gentlemen's carriages. And, shall any body pretend to say that this is not a country for 131 a gentleman to live in? There are men of science in abundance, and famous men too: in short there is every thing, but the pulling off of the hat and the making of the bow, and the power of being insolent and haughty with impunity. I wish to be a little more particular with regard to these expenses. I am supposing a house, stables, and other necessary places, and a farm of about twenty or thirty acres of arable land, with ten or fifteen of pasture besides the orchard. Now, I say that, at twenty miles from New York, all these can be had for 500 dollars a year. If he lay down part of his £10,000 in the purchase of them, he would not have the 500 dollars a year to pay; but then his income would be, 2,650 dollars a year to spend or save. Labour is high; but I allow three men-servants at 100 dollars a year each, and three women-servants at 50 dollars a year each, their wages, then, amount to 450 dollars a year; and if you allow another hundred for a gardener it is 550 in wages for servants. Now, this land and these servants are not to be kept to do nothing. Milk, butter, eggs, poultry, pork, bacon, mutton, lamb, and some veal, would come off this farm. Quite enough to keep thirteen persons, and seven visiter's, all the year round, except in the articles of beef, flour, groceries, and drink. If you allow a pound of meat for every day in the year to 20 people, it would not exceed 200 dollars, when bought at best hand; but I will allow the 200 dollars; I will allow the pound of meat for each person, for every day in the year, exclusive of all the meat, eggs, butter, and poultry, produced upon the farm. Servants in America drink nothing but common spirits and water, or cider. We have seen that cider is about a penny a gallon at Utica, but I suppose it to be seven-pence

a gallon at New York. The orchard would produce you much more than enough: but. without taking it into the account at all, let us suppose the servants to drink each of them half a pint of spirits every 132 day; this makes 319 gallons in a year, including women as well as men; and these 319 gallons of spirits cost, according to Mr. Fullagar, 79 dollars. There remains drink for the family: I hope in God it will not be much; but, they might be pretty jovially drunk, if I could suppose such a thing possible, at a very moderate expense. Brandy and rum (both foreign articles) were one dollar a gallon at Utica, and must be much cheaper at New York. I have seen a great deal of claret at New York, and very good, at a dollar and a half the dozen bottles; that is, 6 s. 9 d. the dozen. Madeira wine used to be, I think, about double that price; but, suppose it all to be an English shilling a bottle, and suppose a thousand bottles to be drunk in a year, and fifty gallons of brandy and rum, exclusive of cider and of the spirits drunk by the servants, there then is 225 dollars a year for drink for the family and visiters. Now come the groceries, which must be monstrous indeed, with tea at 3 s. a pound, and sugar at 5 d., if they exceeded 100 dollars a year. On clothes, and carriages and horses, and plays and balls, and "Virginia waters," any thing may be expended; but having got now 1054 dollars exclusive of interest of money, on the house and on the farm; having provided for every thing exclusive of the clothes and the playhouse money, and the book money and ball money; if that can exceed 596 dollars a year, including the interest of money laid out for horses and cows and pigs; if that can exceed 596 dollars, this family ought to perish. After that, then, there are a thousand dollars a year left to lay by to make each of the children, in due time, a fortune something approaching to that of their father, when his fortune shall be added to the savings, and divided amongst them.

95. This is what may be done with £10,000 in America. Half the sum will of course do half as much; and a quarter of the sum, which yields nearly 800 dollars in the year, is 133 enough for the independent maintenance of a decent family. Two thousand five hundred pounds, why it is the mere dregs of many a, wasted fortune in England. Many a man has more than that after he has become what is called a beggar; and I say that at any

village, not within a very short distance from New York, 800 dollars are sufficient to keep even a genteel family well, without any income other than that. One great advantage in America is, that there is nobody to overshadow men of moderate property; no swaggering, shining, tax-eating wretches to set examples of extravagance, pride, and insolence, to your sons and daughters, who are brought up in the habit of seeing men estimated, not according to the show that they make, not according to their supposed wealth, not according to what is called *birth*, but according to the real intrinsic merit of the party: this is a wonderful advantage: there are no disadvantages that I know of: there are none that I call disadvantages; but there must be many and great disadvantages to overbalance this one single advantage.

96. As to sports of the field, as they are generally called, there is an abundance of them. Horse-races near all large towns: there are two racing places within 30 miles of New York; and though the thing is not so showy as it is here, the horses are pretty nearly as good; and, generally speaking, all sorts of horses in that country are better than they are in this; and I never saw in that country the thing which we call in this country a poor horse; very rarely indeed a blind horse; and pretty nearly as rarely a horse with broken knees or wind. The truth is, that the easy circumstances in which men live prevent them pushing horses so hard; and when an accident happens to a horse, the same circumstances enable the owner to get rid of him at once by killing him. Of hunting, in our style, there can be very little, and, indeed, I never saw it at all; but, take the whole together, shooting, 134 in America, far surpasses that in England. There are no "battus," to be sure, to which effeminate creatures are drawn in coaches, and then set down upon boarded spots to wait till the game is brought to the muzzle of the gun; but if you be fit for the sports of the field, you have wood-cocks in abundance through July and August; quails (called patridges more to the south) and partridges (called pheasants more to the south); you have these, which are really partridges and pheasants, two thirds the size of ours precisely, and you have them in great abundance in the fields and the woods, from the months of September to that of March, both inclusive. On the plains there are plovers in

abundance, during two or three of the autumnal months; and during the same season grouse, in such quantities, in a part of New Jersey, not very distant from New York, that I once saw, I should think there were, a hundred dozen in one great steam-boat, or horseboat, crossing the North river from New Jersey to New York. Gentlemen go, and think it a great treat to be permitted to go, three or four hundred miles to shoot grouse in the Highlands of Scotland, whither they have to carry their food and drink, and even their beds, unless they choose to lie upon the hether. At about forty or fifty miles from New York, and a little more than the same distance from Philadelphia, you take your station, in a nice well-provided tavern, where you are conveniently and cheaply provided; and you sally out and shoot grouse till you have overloaded your gig or your light wagon. As for fishing, whether with line, net, or otherwise, the scope and variety are boundless. Wild water fowl must be sought in the places in which they resort. Wild geese are frequent enough; but wild ducks are so abundant, that I have many times seen a light wagon nearly loaded with them, going from Brooklyn to New york. The truth is, that the abundance of these is so great, that people do not 135 set a high value upon them; but if you like duckshooting, here you have it during the whole of the winter months. So that, as to sports of the field, they are finer than they are here; of greater variety, exclusive of the hunting and coursing; and are, at any rate, sufficient for the diversion and exercise of any man; and this, too, without any game laws: without the smallest idea of trespass in the pursuing of these diversions; without any necessity of asking the leave of any body; and without any drawback whatever from these rational and health-preserving pleasures. I have here been speaking of the vicinity of New York; it is much about the same with regard to all other great cities and towns: there can be no very great difference other than that which arises from the difference in the soil, and the nature of the country, as to water, woods, and so forth.

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LETTER IX. On the means of obtaining Education for Children, and, literary and scientific Amusement and Knowledge for yourself.

97. It is next to impossible to make people in England believe that the United States contain any establishments worthy of being called "learned." It is the business of lying travellers to represent the people of that country as uncouth, uneducated, and illiterate; of all things *illiterate*. The truth is, however, that there are quite a sufficiency of *really learned* men, and the science of the country is proclaimed in something better than books; in the grandest canal in the whole world; in bridges over rivers, more than a mile wide; in ships, by far the finest and best the world has ever seen; in steam-boats (an American invention) compared to which our very best are beggarly things; in pilot-boats, *several of which have crossed the Atlantic Ocean!* A feat never performed by any other nation, nor even attempted to be performed in a vessel of the same size: in every department of maritime affairs; in house building; in legislation; in law; in surgery and medicine; in every science useful to man; and, indeed, every science cultivated by man, the Americans 137 are our equals: they have our machinery as well as we; they have our players (greater is their misfortune). In short, if we surpass them in some branches of literature and science, they surpass us in others.

98. There are every where schools of all grades, just the same as in England. Our national schools, which are a sort of begging concern, form but a poor imitation of their public schools, one of which they have in *every township*, established *by law*, and supported by a tax. Then, for a higher order of persons, there are day schools, boarding-schools, academies, every where, where they are wanted. We have seen that at Utica, a place which has three thousand persons, there is an academy, and seven printing-offices.

99. There are twelve Colleges in America, for the education of gentlemen, priests, or ministers, lawyers, and doctors; and we see from Dr. Morse's account, that, during the ten years, from 1800 to 1810, there were 2792 gentlemen who graduated, and 458 ministers. In the last ten years it has, most probably, been twice or thrice that number; and a man cannot become lawyer or doctor in that country any more than in this without some of these previous steps to qualify him and to give assurance of his qualification. These places

of education are conveniently distributed throughout the country: the printing-presses and newspapers are endless: there is no book that is read here which is not immediately republished there. Even English newspapers are to be found at New York, in the Hotels, as regularly as in those of London.

100. What, then, can a gentleman want more with regard to, the means of education, and of amusement, and of learning through the means of books? Dr. Mitchell, of New York, who was formerly a practising physician, may be fairly regarded as one of the most learned men in the world; and, notwithstanding his great learning, he has about him 138 all the familiarity and frankness of an American farmer. The Doctor has done as much as any man living to communicate his knowledge to all classes of persons without any exception of rank or nation. When I was last in America he received a diamond ring from the Emperor of Russia, in return for a *plough* that he had sent to some one in Russia, where, as he had heard, or, I believe, seen, the people were defective in point of ploughs, of which, by far the best that I ever saw are made at New York; so that English, farmers need not be afraid that they shall not find husbandry implements in America. It would have been very long before Doctor Mitchell had received a diamond ring for any thing sent to England. Our Sovereign might, probably, have ordered a letter to be written to him: that is a *possibility*; but the Emperor Alexander wrote one with his own hand, which, however, the Doctor owed, probably, more to the far-sighted policy of the Emperor Alexander, than to his gratitude for the Doctor 's very sincere desire to promote the good of, agriculture in Russia. We do every thing to offend that great and rising people; we, by our reviews and other manifestly hired publications, take care so to cheer on every blackquard traveller that puts forth a heap of lies and abuse relative to America; we take care to make their dislike of our government as great as possible, and to provide for ourselves as great a stock of just hostility as we can possibly get together. We are now squandering hundreds of thousands, and even millions, in fortifying the beggarly and barren rocks to the north of the United States; and this, as it were, for the sole purpose of urging them to go to war

with us at the first fair opportunity; and this, too, while we stand with our arms folded up, and almost in tears, at seeing Russia overrunning Turkey.

101. To return to the subject of Education, the manners 139 of the teachers are, of course, the manners of the country. But, if any one should think of going to America as schoolmaster or teacher, and especially as schoolmistress or female teacher, it is necessary to observe to such persons, that the Americans are extremely scrupulous as to *character:* and that they look with a very inquisitive eye at all those under whose care they place their children. No better country in the world for schoolmasters of good character, good life, and with talents equal to the undertaking according to its degree. But, the character must be unquestionable here and, as to females, the character must bear the strictest scrutiny. It would be impossible for a man to take his *mistress* to America and palm her upon any circle for his wife, unles amongst the mere labouring people and artisans. Even at a boarding house at New York, unless of the very lowest description, there must be no doubt upon this point to get admission. People there do not bow low to fine clothes or heavy purses: they have fixed prices: there is always a respectable mistress of the house, who sits at the head of her own table; and she will not suffer any one to sit there whose character is suspicious, or who has any thing equivocal in her condition or connexion. Not only can no *mistress* pass for a wife; but no woman will find admission to these houses, if she have had the misfortune to be connected by *anticipation* with her husband, which I used to think was being starched rather overmuch. However, such is the case; and it is good for persons who go to America to live, and have incurred the misfortune arising from this hymeneal haste, to know that, unless they be in the lowest state of life, the sooner they get under a roof of their own the better. To read the works of our lying travellers, who would suppose the Americans were more nice in this respect than people are here? Yet, the fact is that they are so; and it is quite surprising how quickly, after an 140 English woman has landed, every circumstance, even the most minute, relative to the history of her conjugal affairs, is sifted out; and with what despatch, and, at the same time, with what good-nature, her society, if circumstances demand it, be dispensed with.

102. This is very well worthy of the attention of many persons; for they may be assured that the unpleasant circumstances in which, from causes of this sort, they are placed here, will all revive, and in deeper colours in America. In such a case (and the case may happen to very amiable and good people, though it is *generally* the contrary), the sooner a man becomes a farmer under his own roof the better. The less he hears of women's tongues for a year or two, a great deal the better. It takes a great deal to stop them; and their eyes are so piercing; so penetrating; and they are so very much disposed to make interpretations and assumptions, and to draw disadvantageous conclusions, that, really, it is better, in any of the cases above supposed, to keep as much as possible aloof from all temptations to this species of pruriency. After a time; after a man and wife have been jogging on, for a year or two, like other men and wives; and after children have been born, or been growing up, and all seem to be in the usual way, there is no food for curiosity, there is no one to inquire, or to think of inquiring, into the age of the oldest child, and to compare it with the *date of the marriage;* and every thing will go on smoothly.

103. Now, if any one should happen to say, that these precautions suggested by me, imply a slander upon my country-women, I, in the first place, deny the charge; and, in the next place, I say that I am not only justified but called upon to suggest these precautions, when I read, even in a report laid before the House of Commons, that the parson of the parish of Little Horwood, in Buckinghamshire, 141 and an overseer of the parish of Pelham, in Hertfordshire, declared, to a committee of that House, in July, 1828, that it was a *general* thing for the brides in the country to be in a fair way of being mothers before they were married. If there be slander then, it comes from the House of Commons, and not from me. It may be said, that the parson and the overseer confine their observation to *poor people;* but will not the Americans, to whom all these things are regularly made known, be disposed to believe that, where this practice is *general* amongst the poor, it cannot be entirely unknown amongst the rich; especially as they are not accustomed to make wide distinctions between rich and poor.

104. I have mentioned that America is a good place for schoolmasters of good character and the necessary talent; because there are new places continually rising up, towns continually increasing; and because the law makes provision for a schoolhouse and a schoolmaster in every township; and further, because it is the general practice to make schooling a part of the payment of young people who are put out to service; accordingly we find, that Mary Jane Watson, the poverty of whose parents would have prevented her from ever knowing a letter in England, was put to school during the time that she was in service in Connecticut; and she was thus enabled to write the letters No. 10, 11, and 12, which are worthy of universal admiration. But, a man should not pretend to be a schoolmaster, even of a Country Township, until he have qualified himself for writing well, for performing the several workings of common arithmetic, and for teaching at last the rudiments of grammar. To undertake the task without this degree of fitness, would be to disappoint his employers, and finally injure himself. Mere clerks, or young men who call themselves such, and who have been used to live by mere sitting and writing 142 at a desk a few hours of the day, are almost the only persons, except lawyers, attorneys, and doctors, that are not wanted in America. These persons lead easy lives: all men like easy lives, and the Americans as well as others; and the general prevalence of book education in that country gives it a native stock of white-fingered idlers guite sufficient for its wants. But if a young man, who has been what is called a clerk in England, can resolve to strip off his coat and bustle about in a store, there is no such young man who may not mend his lot by the change, and who may not marry without going and taking the hand of his bride, trembling all the while, lest they should starve together: and here I dismiss this letter, with a remark which all young men will find greatly useful if they attend to it. Women are very just persons: they never make any distinction with regard to *nation*: they take the party for what he is worth in their estimation without any extrinsic circumstances; and the girls in America are beautiful and unaffected: perfectly frank, and, at the same time, perfectly modest; but, when you make them the offer of your hand, be, for God's sake, prepared to give it, for wait they will not. In England we frequently hear of courtships of a quarter of a

century; in that *anti-malthusian* country (where Malthus would certainly be burnt alive) a quarter of a year is deemed to be rather " *lengthy*."

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LETTER X. On such other matters, a knowledge relating to which must be useful to every one going from England to the United States.

105. First, as to the manner of taking and transmitting money. If the sum be small, you take it in gold in your chest, if large, Bills of Exchange are always to be had; and you should remember that many a ship has been lost while the crew and the passengers have been saved. This happens when ships are driven on rocks or on shore; or when met at sea in a shattered state, and when the crew and passengers are taken out by another ship. Therefore, some little ready money in your pocket, carrying out bills for the rest, leaving the duplicates of those bills in the hands of trusty friends is the proper way. Merchants in London are the persons to apply to for the bills: and there is scarcely any man of property so destitute of friends in London, as to prevent him from acquiring a sufficient degree of knowledge with regard to this matter. But the times are ticklish; and amongst the good things of America, our bad things find their way most speedily amongst merchants. When you consider, that the United States ship goods to this kingdom to the amount of about ten millions sterling in the year, and receive goods from this kingdom of much about the same amount, you must be sure, that, as far as merchants 144 are concerned, one country cannot be in a shattered state, without the other being shattered in a great degree. New York has much more to do with Liverpool than it has to do with all the other great cities and towns of the American Union. If all the merchants in Liverpool were ruined to-morrow, all those in New York would be ruined on about the 10th of September. So, that, take care of whom you purchase the Bill of Exchange; take care to whom you give your money for that bit of paper; for, it is perfectly fatal to land in that country with a bill to be protested. Even if you finally recover the money, you are harassed to death with anxiety in waiting for it. To divide it, is perhaps best; for though the sea has some possible dangers, those dangers are not to be compared with dangers attending the transactions

of merchants in these ticklish times. Having my view of the matter before you, consult with your friends, and do that which you find to be best.

106. The next thing is, my earnest advice that, be your rank of life what it may, not to meddle much with the politics of the country. The first time I was in the United States, it was my business to meddle, for I published a newspaper, and I meddled to some effect; but, when I was there the last time, I meddled not at all, except in pointing out one act of great injustice done to the South Americans, in an Act of Congress: and the Congress, which was then in session, had the candour and good sense to pass a new Act to rectify the other, and to avow without scruple that it was an error which they were obliged to me for pointing out, though I never went to Washington, and never spoke but with two members of the Congress while I was in the country. You will every where find the people divided into two political parties; but, as you will have no right to vote at elections until you have resided five years in the country, 145 it will be much the best for you to refrain from siding with either party until the five years are expired, then you will take your part like other men, and you will have the same degree of understanding with regard to the principles and views of the two parties.

107. Another piece of advice is, that you be not over forward in extolling America to the disadvantage of England. The Americans are a sensible people, and, though not suspicious and apt to impute bad motives, their observation has taught them that this species of flattery of their country is not a characteristic of the best of men. It is *unnatural* for a man to rave in general terms against his own country: it is, in a less degree certainly, like railing against one's own family. To speak with truth and with proper feeling against the acts of the government in England; to speak of its misrule and consequent miseries, may be, and is, right enough and perfectly natural; for, these form the ground of your quitting your country. But, to rail against England in the lump; to pretend to believe that it is a mere nothing of a country; to speak against the people in a mass, is not only very foolish in itself, but it is sure to make with regard to you a disadvantageous impression on the minds of your hearers, who, if you were to talk to your last breath, would never be

persuaded that England was not a great, a fine, and a glorious country. God forbid that any Englishman should ever endeavour to remove this persuasion from the mind of any body. It is, indeed, now in a wretched plight: it is hardly possible to describe its state of depression; but this cannot last for ever; the country must and will renovate itself; and, if you were to endeavour to convince an American that it never would do this, he would not contradict you, but you would sink in his opinion.

108. On the contrary, do not be endlessly bragging about G 146 England. If you see posts and rails, instead of quickset hedges; if you see that which appears slovenliness, about the fields, the meadows, and the homesteads; and if you see the plough and the scythe impeded in some cases by rocks and stumps of trees, do not seem in your conversation to despise a state of things so different from that in England, and do not draw the disadvantageous comparison. Do not be everlastingly saying, "We have such and such things in England;" for, though the Yankees will not ask if the poor people here have, or if you yourself ever had, fowls, turkeys, ducks and geese, and preserved peaches upon your table; though they will not ask you whether England gave you beefsteaks with your tea; though they will say nothing to you, they will form an opinion less advantageous of you than they otherwise would have formed.

109. The best way is to take things as you find them, and make the best of the blessings you enjoy: wish for the happiness of your native country, and be faithful and grateful to that to which you have transferred your allegiance. When the proper time comes; when your term of probation has expired; when you enter upon the enjoyment of all the political rights of the citizen, then it is your *duty* to meddle with politics; it is your duty to do there as you would have done here if you could; prevent public mischief, promote public good, to the utmost of your power.

110. There are some inconveniences with respect to which I think it necessary to warn you. The first is, that you will, in spite of any cheerfulness of disposition, find yourself, at first, whether you be married or single, in that sort of state, which is described in the old

saying, like a fish out of water. I who have changed local situation so often, and who have experienced changes so great, am well qualified to speak relative to this matter; for, if the changes have always had an impression upon a buoyant spirit like mine, 147 that has always scorned a resort to the bottle; if I have felt these changes, what effect must they produce on men in general, and more especially upon women, virtuous and home-loving women! The effect is very great indeed, and you must he armed against it. All is new: you have all at once lost the sight of a thousand objects that were become dear to you, without your at all perceiving it. The voices that you hear are all new to you; the accustomed nods and smiles of neighbours which made, and without your perceiving it, a portion of the happiness of your life, are gone, and they appear to be gone for ever. Hence, and from various other causes not easy to be described, arise the state of a " fish out of water." Look at No. 9, and you will see an instance of a poor man who hastened at once back to England, without staying to "try the place." He is laughed at for this by Stephen Watson, who writes the letter; but, if you look at No. 7, you will find this very Stephen Watson himself " talking of going back in the spring;" and, it is truly curious to observe, that in twenty-two days after this, as you will see by No. 8, the very same man says, not only he was happier than he ever was in his life, but that he is sorry that he did not bring his mother along with him. It took these twenty-two days to bring him out of the state of fish out of water: he found new objects to be pleased with; new faces grew familiar to him; new ideas had gone far in replacing those with which his mind was filled at Sedlescomb, and he was again his own man: he was once more the fish in the water, and the severest part of the trial was over. Now, this was a hardy young man; he felt at once the solid and surprising advantage of the change, and yet a depression of spirits made him forget, for the time, all that he had suffered in England, and remembered nothing but the good.

111. Be you prepared for this; and, above all things, if G 2 148 you have a wife, prepare her for it. If you can afford it, never mind a little expense, take her out in gigs or in light wagons; introduce her to pleasant people in her own rank of life: in doing which, if your own and her character be good, you will find no difficulty; and, in a short time, she will feel

little inconvenience from the change; her spirits will rally, reason will have resumed its sway, and you will have little or no impediment remaining on that account. This is a matter of much greater importance than you, who have never made such a change, can possibly conceive; therefore I beg you not to deem it unworthy of your attention.

112. For the climate, too, you ought to be prepared, and for the apparent inconveniences attending the great heat and the great cold. I am speaking of the latitude of the City of New York: further to the north the summers are less hot, and the winters more cold; further to the south the contrary of these. The time from mid-June to mid-September is generally very hot: I call it beautifully fine; but to some persons the heat is oppressive; but this fact should be known. In my "Year's Residence" I have given an account of the weather throughout the whole year, and described its effects; but I do not know that I mentioned this fact; namely, that distressing heat never lasts more than three days at one time, and that it is the same with regard to very severe cold in the winter. And, then, the sky is so clear, vegetation pushes on at such a rate, hay time and harvest are so sure to be carried on in fine weather; there is so complete an absence of all drip and drizzle, that the heat is nothing when accompanied with these circumstances. If you wish to be fully informed beforehand of every minute circumstance relative to the weather, and of various other things for which I have no room here, you must refer to the detailed and faithful account given in my "Year's Residence." There are certain plagues, called flies, musquitos, 149 and grashoppers; but these are inseparable from the heat that will give you orchards of peaches, bearing great crops at three years or four years from the tossing the stone into the ground, and hanging on the trees (as John Watson says in Letter No. 2) " almost as thick as your hops." Nature has said that you shall not have these, and melons, and water melons in the natural ground, and apples, and cherries, and plums, and the rest, the fruit following the blossom upon all as surely as the night follows the day; nature has said that you shall not have all these, unaccompanied with flies, musquitos, and grashoppers, the latter of which, however, are but occasional plagues, and the two former of which may, by great care, be pretty nearly avoided.

113. In the "Year's Residence" you will find an account of the beautiful weather in the autumn. For my part, if the winter were a great deal more cold than it is, and the summer a great deal hotter, I would endure them for the sake of this autumn, two months of which generally pass without a cloud in the sky, the sun shining upon the finest verdure that ever eyes beheld. This is a fine season for the sports of the field; for travelling, for enjoyments of all sorts; and, though it is followed by a cold winter, it is not followed by a wet winter, which is a great deal worse thing. The climate has been the teacher of the people: the horses which draw the gigs, and coaches, and wagons, in summer, draw *sleighs* upon the snow: and when the roads are a little beaten, a single horse will draw ten or a dozen people. Into these sleighs people toss themselves, with sheep-skins under their feet, with furs on their hands and round their necks; and this is the gay season; for now the visitings, the assemblings, the dancings, and all the merry meetings of the country are going on.

114. Vegetables are housed for the winter. Necessity has taught how to preserve them, and the substantial ones 150 are as plentiful in the winter as those of a less substantial nature are in the summer; fresh meat keeps any length of time; and there are many other advantages attending this, as it would be called in England, horribly hard winter.

115. In conclusion, let me observe that, without health, life is hardly worth having. I have said, frequently, that I never knew the want of health in America. I have, in my "Year's Residence," given instances of extraordinary longevity in that country. Mr. Brissot, after a very minute inquiry and comparison, ascertained that people once grown up, lived, on an average, longer in the United States than in France. By the letters from the Sussex emigrants, you will perceive, that they had, generally speaking, exceeding good health. The family of Watson, is, you perceive, very numerous and of various ages; and yet all but one has had excellent health.

116. Now, be you assured, that the greatest enemy to health is *excessive drinking*. I know, from observation, that this is the great destroyer of the health of the Americans; I have seen many a bright Englishman totally ruined in his health, and fortune too, by indulging in

this abominable vice; and, therefore, let me hope that every one who reads this will abstain from that vice, to the indulgence in which the temptations are so strong, while the expense of the indulgence is so small. Pray look at Letter No. 11, written by that good and sensible girl, to whom I have so often referred. In that letter she is speaking of her brothers James and John and William; and pray mark; she says, in one place, "James had been very sick "near two months, but was got better and able to work." She says, presently afterwards, "James has drinked "very much since he has been in this country. John "and William have been very sober and industrious, "and a great help to James both in sickness and in health." 151 If this do not make a lasting impression upon the mind of the reader, I could not produce it, were I to write till doomsday.

117. "But what are people to do who work, seeing "that they must have something besides water?" This question is the general one; but it includes an assertion, the truth of which I deny as applicable to any persons but those engaged in hard work. How many miles have I travelled in America; how many hot days endured; how many days' and weeks' and months' toil, from morning till night, carrying a gun and a game bag in July, August, and Septmber; and yet I do not recollect that I ever tasted spirituous liquors during any of these toils, except once when I was out with a Philadelphia lawyer, who carried a little canteen of brandy, and who prevailed upon me to mix a little with some water in the crown of my hat. I was eight years, when young, in the colony of New Brunswick, where rum was seven-pence a quart, and where not one single man, out of three or four hundred, was, at a reckoning time, sober for above a week, except myself; and, during the whole of the time that I lived amidst all that drunkenness, I never once tasted spirituous liquors, except upon one occasion, when I made a journey through the woods for a wager, and expected to be out all the night. The winter in that country is of seven months' duration; and sometimes so severe that you cannot go ten yards without being frost-bitten, if fingers or nose be exposed; yet I never, except in that one single case, tasted spirituous liquors during the whole of that time; and every man that, died with us in that country was killed by drink.

118. My drink in that country was generally goat's milk and water. Five or six times I might drink some English porter; but, generally speaking, the pure water and goat's milk was my drink. In the United States, at my own home in 152 Long Island, milk and water; sometimes cider, and the same at neighbours' houses. Just before I came away, I bought some claret, at about seven-pence, English money, a bottle, and mixed it with water. In Pennsylvania, when I used to go shooting, water from the brook or well, or milk and water or cider, was my drink; but my great drink was milk and water, summer and winter; and, if thirsty while shooting, I made for the first farm-house; and if travelling, drew up to the first farm-house that I came near, if I found myself at a distance from a tavern.

119. Why, I passed eighteen years of my life in countries stinking with rum, with brandy, and with whiskey, and I never knew a day's illness, except a short spell of yellow fever in Philadelphia, which, as the DOCTORS told me, was rendered slight by my great sobriety; I being, otherwise, a fine subject for it to maul. Yet, at very hard work, and in very hot weather, when the perspiration pours from the body, as is the case when men are mowing, and at some other labours in the fields; in these cases a small portion of spirits may be necessary, and I believe it is. It would be better if the labour were more moderate, the wages lower, and the drink abstained from; but this is a change of customs that cannot be effected. From the little necessary, men proceed to the little unnecessary, and from that they proceed to the great deal. The vice steals upon you by imperceptible degrees, till at last, you have not the power to shake it off; and when you arrive at that pitch, it requires an effort too great for your remaining sense of danger. Oh! how many men—how many bright men— how many strong men, have I seen sink into mere nothings in consequence of this detestable vice. You must give drink to those whom you employ; and it must be according to the custom of the country. You cannot alter the customs and the manners: you cannot teach morality to a 153 nation: but you can be the monitor, both by example and precept, to your own family; and if you neglect this duty, this most sacred of all earthly duties, be assured that the duration of your repentance will be from the day that you see a son become a lad, until the day of the termination of your own life. G 5

William Cobbett.

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POSTSCRIPT.

Wolverhampton, 5th May, 1830.

120. After I had published the Emigrant's Guide, in the month of August last, I was frequently applied to, in person, by *men of property*, for information with regard to *prices* and *rent* of houses, farms, &c. *in Long Island;* and I was very often asked, to give an *exact description* of pieces of property that I *myself had a personal knowledge of.* It was difficult to do this; it took up a great deal of my time; and, besides, though I knew the several farms and places very well, and could describe them accurately and minutely, I could not state the value of them, except by *guess;* because I had never *asked* what was the value; and, if I had, I had made no memorandum on the subject.

121. Therefore, I wrote, in October last, a letter to Mr. John Tredwell, of Salisbury Place, in Long Island, requesting him to give me answers to *thirteen questions*, which I numbered from 1 to 13, keeping a copy of them, and also the *numbers*, and requesting him to put his answers against the numbers; I knowing him to be a man of perfect knowledge of the subject, and a man on whose judgment and word I could safely place reliance. The questions were as follows, as contained in his letter to me, dated the 13th of January last, and which letter found me at Cambridge, on the 28th of March.

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No.

- 1. What is the yearly rent of a house in New York, not for *business* of any sort, but for *residence*, for a middling-sized genteel family, in a clean and healthy street?
- 2. What is the legal interest of money lent on mortgage of land?

- 3. Are such mortgages easy to be got?
- 4. What is the *price*, bought out and out, of a country-house and farm *like yours*, at 20, 30, 40, or 50 miles from New York, and in Long Island.
- 5. What is the price of a country-house, as large as yours, with out-buildings, a garden, orchard, and a bit of ground for cows and horses to run in, supposing the whole to be fifteen acres; and suppose the property to be *within 20 miles of New York*, and on Long Island?
- 6. What are the number of acres of A's farm; and what is that farm worth?
- 7. How many acres is B's farm; and what is that farm worth?
- 8. What is the yearly rent of a good-sized, genteel house, orchard and garden, and bit of ground, at *Flatbush*, *Flushing*, or *Jamaica*?
- 9. What is the yearly rent of such a place, at *Jericho?*
- 10. What is the number of acres of C's farm, and what is that farm *worth*, house and all? Not what he would *ask* for it; but what *such a place is worth*, at *that distance* from New York?
- 11. What is the worth of D's tavern, with the land belonging to it?

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- 12. What is your place worth, and how many acres have you?
- 13. What are the pleasant places to live at, near New York; and what is the distance of each from New York?

ANSWERS:

- 1. From 300 to 400 dollars.
- 2. Seven per cent. per annum.
- 3. At 6 per cent. per.annum.
- 4. From 12,000 to 15,000 dollars.
- 5. About 5,000 dollars.
- 6. 200 acres: 4,000 dollars: not well fenced.
- 7. 200 acres: in good fence, well cultivated: 8,000 dollars.
- 8. From 150 to 200 dollars a year.
- 9. From 100 to 150 dollars a year.
- 10. From 15,000 to 20,000 dollars: about 350 acres.
- 11. 4,000 dollars.
- 12. 13,000 dollars; 290 acres of land.
- 13. Flatbush, 4 miles; Jamaica, 12; Flushing, 11; and Hempstead, 22.
- 122. Now, it is necessary for me to give some explanations relative to each question and answer: but, first of all, it is necessary to observe, that the dollar is, at this time, at New York, equal to about *four shillings* of our money, as far as I can judge from the state of *the exchange* between the two countries. The *acre* of the United States is always the *statute acre of England;* that is, 160 square rods, or perches, each rod being 16½ feet in length, and the same 157 in breadth. Long Island is about 130 miles long, and, on an average, about 8 miles wide. It is separated from the main land by a channel, which, *at the city*

of New York, it requires twenty minutes to cross; and, during daylight, there is the most convenient means of crossing, for carriages, horses, and every thing, without ever waiting more than about five or ten minutes.

No. 1. Will need no explanation, other than that the yearly rent of such a house, in this finest (I think) of all the towns and cities in the world, is, in our money, from 60 *l.* to 80 *l.* a year, with, perhaps, not a twentieth part of the English *rates*, and no taxes such as we pay.

Nos. 2 and 3. The questions and answers speak fully for themselves.

No. 4. Will be explained under No. 12; for there are the particulars of the quantity of land.

No. 5. I beg the reader to look well at the question. The country-house is a good *gentleman's house*, with ample appurtenances. In short, read the question, and see what you can have, *freehold*, out and out, for *a thousand pounds*, with no accursed *stamp* on the conveyance, and no hellish tax on the house, the land, or the windows. The *orchard* finds cider for the year. But this will be more fully explained under No. 12, which relates to *Mr. Tredwell's own place*, all the particulars of which I know so well.

No. 6. I put A's farm-house here, and not the name of the owner; because that would obviously be wrong. However, I know the farm well. The house is a good one, the land good in its nature, a good portion of woodland. A place, in short, where any industrious man might rear up and provide well for a large family; and the 158 cost is, you see, 800 *l.* our money, out and out. 200 *l.* more would stock it well.

No. 7. I know this farm also. It has better and more ample buildings than No. 6. The fences will last many years without repair. The land is, in quality, like No. 6.; but in much better cultivation. The woodland is in sufficient proportion. A nicer farm no man need wish for. The value is 1,600 *l.* our money; and 300 *l.* more would stock it most amply.

No. 8. This supposes a house with *garden* and *orchard* and *run for a cow;* but not on *the scale* of No. 5. Quite sufficient, however, for easy and genteel life; And the cost is, you see, at most, 40 *l.* a year, our money, with no *taxes*, or *rates*, worth speaking of. The *taxes and rates alone* on such a place, including tax on gig and dog and servant, will, in England, *amount to 50l. a year.*

No. 9. This takes you about 25 miles from New York to a very pretty and pleasant inland village; but, on account of the distance from the city, the place is 30 *l.* a year, instead of 40 *l.*

No. 10. This C.'s *farm* is one of the finest that I ever saw in my life. It has a large proportion of valuable woodland; I should think 18 acres of *orchard*; and these the very finest that I ever saw even in that country. The quantity of apples, pears, and peaches, beyond all conception of those who have never been in America. I once saw one of the orchards (about 10 acres), the trees loaded with the finest apples, and the ground below bearing a fine crop of Indian corn. The house cannot have less than 12 or 14 rooms in it; and the out-buildings and yards all upon a large scale, and in 159 perfect repair. Suppose it be 20,000 dollars, that is 4,000 *l.* of our money; and the land is *tithe-free*, and the whole so nearly being tax-free, as for taxes and rates to be hardly worth naming. This place is at about 20 miles distance from New York.

No. 11. Is a *Tavern*, about 15 miles from New York, on the turnpike road. A large house with all conveniences for a tavern. A garden; and, I think, from 15 to 20 acres of land attached to it, part of the land being *woods*, which, observe, supply all the *fuel*. 800 *l*. buys this tavern out and out, land and all; and thus a man gets it for a sum that will not yield him, in interest, on mortgage, more than 32 *l*. a year, in England.

No. 12. An explanation here will settle the whole matter; and here is the *owner*, speaking in his *own name*, and I know all about every part of the land and the premises. The *house* has four rooms on a floor, spacious kitchen and cellars beneath; it has a little farm-house

and-dairy attached; has a very neat garden, with a greenhouse in it; has a piazza on two sides of it; and is, in all respects, as neat, as substantial and convenient a house as I ever saw. Barn, stables, cow-houses, pigpens, corn-cribs, yards, every thing of the best description. An orchard of, I should think, seven acres, which is, observe, a pasture as well as an orchard. The land, which contains a due proportion of woods, is fenced in the best and most lasting manner, and is in the best state of cultivation; and, as you see, there are 290 acres of it, all lying in one spot, with the house nearly in the middle of it. Now, as to the quality of the land. In this part of Long Island, they put soper's ashes on the land, as we do chalk on the clays of Hampshire; and these, which cost about 3 l. an acre of our money, last 160 the land for 20 years. I think, that Mr. Tredwell's land was all ashed. But I can speak of that which I occupied, and which had never been ashed. Those who have read my Year's Residence in America, have read of the fine crops of Swedish turnips that I grew there; and my land was only at about 200 yards from that of Mr. Tredwell. Those were the largest and the finest that I ever saw. Cabbages and kidney-beans and peas, very fine, I had in the same land. Land of easy tillage; and, on Mr. Tredwell's farm, I have seen as fine crops of corn, grain, and clover, as any man need wish to see. And this estate is worth 2,600 *l.* our money. Freehold, tithe-free, nearly tax and rate-free. A good proportion of woods; as pleasant a spot, according to my fancy, as can be found in the world. The interest of this sum, on mortgage, in England, will not now bring more than 104 *l.* a year. You cannot occupy such a place in England without paying 150 *l.* a year in rates and taxes, and without tithe to the amount of 50 l. a year at least. Very little can any family want beyond the produce of this estate: flour, beef, mutton, pork, veal, poultry, butter, milk, eggs, cheese, cider, malt, apples, pears, peaches, apricots, dried fruits of all sorts, feathers, wool, fuel, food for horses, wood for implements and buildings. What more, but the clothing, and some wine and groceries, all except the clothing at less than half the English price; and the materials for clothing as cheap as in England, and, generally, cheaper, even if English; and if from China or India or France, at half the English price, or less.

123. I cannot conclude without quoting a most interesting part of Mr. Tredwell's Letter: "As you had the breaking 161 "in of Richard Haines, you will, no doubt, be pleased to "hear, that he has strictly followed your advice, ' to stick "'his legs under another man's table, and to stretch his "'body in another man's bed,' and that, though he has "a second wife and a young John Bull, he has saved more "than two thousand dollars, in the nearly ten years "that he has been with me." That is, more than 400 *l.* of our money. Now, this was a young man, twenty years of age, who escaped from pauper -pay in Berkshire, in 1818; he got to New York in January, 1819; I hired him by the month till October, 1819; when I came away, or soon afterwards, he went to Mr. Tredwell; he was a mere farm-labourer; he could neither write nor read; but he was a sober and excellent young man; and there he now is with the means of purchasing a farm of 100 acres, and all the buildings on it, at 100 miles from New York, and one of half the size at 20 miles from New York.

124. Now, the reader will perceive, that I have here spoken only of Long Island, and near New York. Farther off, farms and houses are cheaper; but, all these matters are fully stated and explained in the former part of the *Emigrant's Guide*, which contains information on every matter connected with *emigration*. But, I cannot lay down my pen without once more most earnestly exhorting Englishmen not to have any thing to do with *Emigration Associations;* not to go to back-woods; but to settle in the well-inhabited parts; to see what the people do; to follow their customs; to live as they live; to mix with them; and not to attempt to form any separate society, or community.

125. Let every emigrant remember the sad fate of poor Birkbeck and his associates: they had the visionary scheme of forming an *English settlement*. They were to have a *society of their own*. They were to make a garden, a land of promise, in a wilderness. They were soon in confusion 162 and ruin. The Americans know best how to *clear lands:* let them do it, and let Englishmen carry their money and skill to places already well inhabited, and congenial with their habits. I have always said, and I now repeat, that I grieve to think it my duty to put forth any thing having a tendency to cause men to quit England; but when I see

so many families that must be ruined and brought to beggary, if they remain here, it is my duty to give the information that I now give.

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SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Bristol, 27th June, 1830.

126. Since I wrote the foregoing postscript, I have seen several *farmers*, who, not able to extricate themselves from the ruinous concerns in which they are involved, are sending their *sons* to America. The situation of those *sons* is as unhappy a one as can well be conceived. They have been, generally speaking, brought up in the expectation of living in the manner in which they have seen their *fathers* live. Without any positive promises or assurances to this effect, they have naturally concluded that this would be the case; and, accordingly, their dress, the horses they rode, their manners, their expenses, their society, have all been in proportion to this scale. This scale was produced by the system of taxing and of paper-money. This did, in effect, cause *an anticipation of means throughout the community;* and, the fine dress and boarding-school education were things *borrowed* as much as the money that makes up the national debt: the *high life* of the farmers was as much *a debt* as any other thing acquired by *anticipation*. A monstrous injury has this been in all the ranks of life: from the king down to the very labourers, all has been sublimation and extravagance.

127. But, now the time is come for *payment*; and the gentility of the *farmers' sons* having been *borrowed*, the debt must 164 be *paid* by their coming *to labour for their bread*. This is a hard thing to do; to throw off the gentility and take to the labourer's manners and life are very hard. Yet this, or worse, *must* be the lot of this description of persons. Very hard to cast off the genteel coat and put on the smock-frock; very hard to exchange the dishes, and decanters, and dessert, with a servant to wait on you, for the luncheon bag and bottle, carried on your own shoulder. Very hard to exchange the soft and white hands

for hands as hard as a bit of wood. And, harder still, to have to do all this under the eyes of thousands who have known you from your infancy; and to have to be the equal and companion of those, who have hitherto pulled off their hat to you, or, at the least, called you *Sir* and *Mister!* And all this, moreover, with the *certainty* of never, *no never*, being able, by whatever industry, care, and frugality, to be anything better than a *mere labourer*, destined, at last, to be a miserable pauper.

128. Such is the real state of a very great part of the *farmers' sons*, at this time. They are not lazy; they are willing to work, but not to be *degraded*. They would gladly come down, but they *cannot* in the presence of those labourers under whose eyes they have always lived. In precisely this state I saw a young man, about twenty years old, some time ago. I advised him to go to America. *There*, said I, you must go to work; but there you will begin the world *anew*; there you will have *no spectators of your stoop;* you have all God's greatest blessings, youth, health, and strength; you know how to labour; you are the master of your own morals; *you will pass for just what you are worth;* and *there* you have the power within yourself of *acquiring property and ease by means of your own labour.*

129. I was asked what would be necessary to *fit out* such a young man in a suitable manner, in a manner to make him *start fairly*, and in a way to give him every necessary advantage. 165 My answer was, that, if the parents could afford it, he should have *clothes for two years;* that he should have *plenty of sea stores;* have his *passage paid;* and have, on landing, 100 *dollars* as a beginning of his *savings*. The lists of *clothes* and of *sea-stores* I gave his parents in the following two lists, No. 1 and No. 2.

LIST—No. 1.

1 Chest, 3½ feet long, 20 inches deep, and 20 inches wide; strong and dove-tailed, with iron cleets, and good lock and key.

10 Good, large, strong, decent, white linen shirts.

- 4 Good large checked shirts well put together.
- 6 Pair of good long worsted stockings.
- 6 Pair of long cotton stockings.
- 3 Pair of shoes, two of them neatly made, and light.
- 10 White neckcloths; 1 black ditto.
- 1 Straw hat.
- 2 Gingham short coats, good stuff for summer.
- 6 Thin waistcoats without sleeves.
- 6 Pair of thin striped trowsers, made loose.
- 2 Short coats for winter. Decent strong cloth, one of them blue, for Sundays, the other dark grey to work in.
- 2 Winter waistcoats with sleeves, one for Sundays and one for working days.
- 2 Pair of cloth trowsers for winter, one better than the other.
- 1 Good, large, strong, decent great coat, without great capes, and of a dark drab colour.
- 6 Good, strong, large brown towels, hemmed and with loops to them.
- 1 Emigrant's Guide, to read before you go.
- 1 Year's Residence, to read on board of ship.
- 1 Advice to Young Men, to read always.

| Library of Congress |
|---------------------------------|
| 166 |
| No. 2. SEA STORES |
| 56lb. of biscuit. |
| 30lb. of flour, fine |
| 4lb. of plums. |
| 1lb. of tea. |
| 6lb. of moist sugar. |
| 30lb. of bacon, of home growth. |
| 6lb. of cheese, very good. |
| 6lb. of salt butter. |
| 4lb. of oatmeal. |
| 1 Bottle of wine for gruel. |
| 2 Quarts of vinegar. |
| Some ginger. |
| Some onions. |
| Some potatoes. |

The emigrant's guide; in ten letters, addressed to the tax-payers of England; containing information of every kind, necessary to persons who are about to emigrate; including several authentic and most intersting letters from English emigrants now in America, to their relations in England; and an account of the prices of house and land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. http://www.loc.gov/resource/lhbtn.24759

Mattress, blankets, sheets for ship-board.

1 Gallon of brandy to bribe the cook with.

- 1 Tin thing to hold the butter.
- 1 Tin little cup or mug to drink out of.
- 1 Tin thing, about two quarts, with a lid to boil water or potatoes in, or gruel.
- 1 Tin tea-pot.
- 1 Tin pint pot.
- 1 Good strong pocket knife.
- 2 Pewter spoons.
- 1 Small gridirou.
- 1 Gallon wooden bottle to hold the brandy.
- 1 Two quart wooden bottle to hold the vinegar.

130. Clothing is as cheap there as it is here, except in the making; but, even if the making were as cheap, the respectability of such a stock of clothes is worth, under such circumstances, a hundred times the cost of it. He has it to 167 show, at once; the contents of the chest give him a character better than any words can give. He starts at once on a level with the best young farmers in that country. His respectable appearance opens every farm-house door to him; he may choose his employer; and, if his conduct be good, he begins saving money directly. The Sea Stores that I have named, are, most likely, twice as much as would be wanted; but he will find the old saying true, that "Store is no sore." The part that he may not want, he will find plenty of people to purchase, even before he land; and, besides, such a young man ought to be provided against all chance of short allowance. The cost, then, is as follows: Clothes, about £13.; Stores, about £7.; to put his things on board 7s.; to pay for lodging and boarding at New York for a week,

18s.; passage in the steerage, £5. All this is £26. 5s. If you add 100 dollars to form the beginning of his savings, the whole is £48. 15s. Now, even leaving, out 100 dollars, I, at twenty years of age, should have thought myself the happiest fellow in the world to have had such a start; and I, who know all about this matter, solemnly declare, that such a *young man* would be better off, so provided with clothes, landed at New York, even without the 100 dollars, than with *three thousand pounds in his pocket and be compelled to remain in England* under the present taxes, or under *any taxes*, exceeding *ten millions a year for the whole kingdom*.

131. My advice to this young man was, that he should, by no means, go to work near any great town; but go to some farmer, put his legs under another man's table, stretch his body in another man's bed, serve him faithfully and diligently, live with him by the year or the month, be boarded, lodged and washed in the house, and save all his earnings. At the end of the two years, before he would want new clothing, he would have a bag of dollars as heavy as he would like to 168 carry. His good character would soon give him his choice amongst those who wanted farmers upon shares; and, in a few years he would have the means of providing for his ruined parents, when they had been brought to the verge of the poor-house by the boroughmongering and taxing system. Alas! how many young men will linger away their *prime* here, in vain hope, mortification, in miserable attempts to disguise their shame, when they might thus carry their heads aloft, be independent, free from care, beloved and happy! As to the silly and infatuated creatures, who go to Swan River, Van Dieman's Land, Botany Bay, Canada, Nova Scotia, or any *English* colony, they merit neither my care nor my pity. They have been duly warned; they are slaves by nature or by habit; and it signifies very little what becomes of them. They almost, literally, jump out of the frying-pan into the fire; but they do it by choice; and they have nobody to blame for the consequences. The latest papers from New York say, that the quantity of gold carried thither by emigrants, since last winter, has been so great as "to make the exchanges six per cent in favour of America more than they were before." Good! Parry that thrust, boroughmongers! Every man and every thousand pounds that go, make the

difference, *to you*, of two men and two thousand pounds. This cause is silently, quietly, at work; unseen, unheard, but by no means *unfelt*.

132. As to all other matters, connected with emigration, prices of house rent, of land, wages, provisions, and all other things, and relating, too, to persons in all ranks and conditions of life, they will be found fully detailed in the former parts of this book.

THE END.